

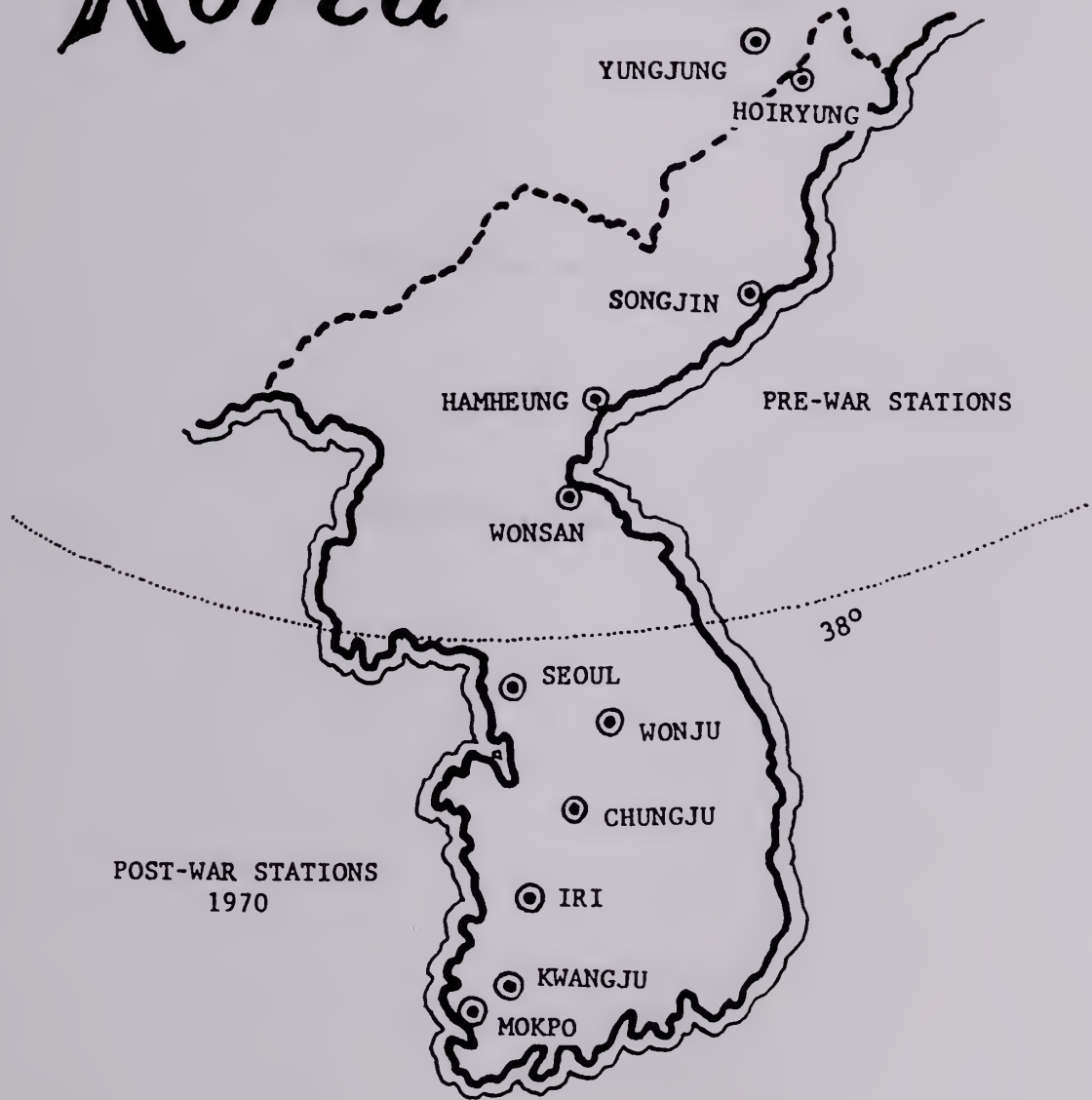
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*Canadians  
in Korea*

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# Korea





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CANADIANS IN KOREA

Brief Historical Sketch

of

Canadian Mission Work

in

K O R E A

by

Dr. William Scott

1975



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PREFACE

As will become apparent from the ensuing record, the United Church of Canada has had a long and rich relationship with the Christian movement in Korea.

The locale of the work today is of necessity in South Korea where we have nineteen missionaries in 1975. Our main relationship is now with the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea. In the educational field we are related to Yonsei and Ewha Universities. Medical involvement is with Severance Hospital in Seoul, the Wonju Union Christian Hospital and the Presbyterian Hospital at Kwangju.

Budget for Korea generally runs at about \$280,000.

The origins of today's work are clearly set out in this manuscript.

Dr. Scott, whose experience encompasses both the earlier and modern periods, has been in an ideal position both to relate the facts and comment on them.

E. F. Carey

Associate Secretary  
Board of World Mission

April 23, 1975.



## Biographical Sketch

of

Rev. William Scott, M.A., D.D.

Dr. William Scott was born in Scotland. He came to Canada in 1906, one of several young Scottish lads recruited by Dr. Alexander MacMillan to study for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

He served on two mission fields in Manitoba while completing matriculation in Brandon College. He then entered Queen's University where he majored in English Literature and Political Economy, graduating with the degree of M.A.

He took his theological training at Westminster Hall in Vancouver. Graduating in 1914 he and his wife immediately proceeded to Korea, as missionaries under appointment by the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church. They arrived in Korea December 3, 1914.

From 1914 until retirement 42 years later, Dr. Scott served in a wide range of locations in Korea, stretching from Yongjung in the extreme north to Koje Island in the extreme south.

Work in North Korea began as an evangelistic missionary with preaching and teaching, supervision of Bible colporteurs and frequent visits to church groups in remote valleys of Hamkyung province and Manchuria.

In 1922 he was appointed principal of Eunjin Boys' High School, and started it on its way to becoming a school of high repute in the district. In 1925 he was transferred to the principalship of the Yung-Saing high school in Hamheung and piloted it through the long and difficult task of securing government recognition as a fully qualified registered school.

In 1928, "fully persuaded that no missionary should occupy a position of responsibility that a Korean could acceptably fill", he resigned the principalship in favour of Rev. Kim Kwan Shik, recently returned from study abroad.

This emphasis on Korean participation was further evidenced in his support of three movements in which the Canadian Mission may be said to have pioneered. (1) The establishment of school boards with equal representation of Korean and Mission members. (2) The provision of mission scholarships for competent Koreans to study abroad. (3) The organization of a Joint Board, with equal Korean and Mission representation, to administer all mission grants for evangelistic and educational work.

In 1932, when the Yung-Saing school was granted government recognition as a registered higher common school, Dr. Scott was honoured by the citizens of Hamheung city, and in 1935 he received a citation



from the Korean Government-General for outstanding leadership in the field of education.

On the outbreak of World War II, Dr. Scott was one of four Canadian missionaries who were given permission to remain in Korea to encourage the Korean brethren by their presence, to care for mission property and to form a liaison between the Mission and the Japanese government on matters of mission concern. During the last six months of their stay they were interned in their own homes before being repatriated to Canada in 1942.

In 1943, Dr. Scott was honoured by Union College, Vancouver, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

During World War II, with its enforced withdrawal from Korea, Dr. Scott served as pastor in the Burford charge of Brantford Presbytery, the only pastoral charge he ever held in Canada.

In 1946, when missionaries were allowed to return to Korea, Dr. Scott together with other Canadian missionaries, shared the dangers and privations of refugee friends from North Korea, distributing relief funds and supplies, generously donated by the home church. In co-operation with Miss Ada Sandell he supervised the building of an emergency hospital on Koje Island and, ably assisted by Rev. Lew Kwun Chan, carried on evangelistic and relief work in the many refugee villages that dotted the island.

During the last ten years of his work in Korea, Dr. Scott was closely associated with Hankook Theological Seminary. For several years he taught Old Testament and Church History, and did much to secure support from the United Church of Canada.

He deeply regretted the controversy that centered around the Hankook Seminary, but sincerely believed that the Korean church and the people needed, along with the more conservative seminaries, one which provided the greater freedom and integrity of theological education that the Hankook Seminary stood for. He advocated and would have preferred that opposing forces seek mediating counsel and advice from such ecumenical bodies as the World Council of Churches. But when the break did come and the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea came into being he felt that such a large group of Christian brethren should not be denied the continuing fellowship and support of a Mission body such as the United Church of Canada. He therefore advocated an impartial investigation by a delegation from the United Church and willingly followed their decision that our future co-operation with the church in Korea should be through the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea.

Dr. Scott continued his work in Korea until 1956 when he retired to live in Brantford. He and Mrs. Scott were blessed with 56 years of happy married life until her death in August, 1969.





## Chapter 1

### KOREA PAST AND PRESENT

"O Korea, who, in Asia's golden age  
Was one of Asia's lighted lamps,  
Let but your lamp once more be lit  
And you will be a shining light  
To all the East."

These lines are attributed to Tagore, the distinguished Bengal poet. They are said to have been his response to a request of a Korean student in Japan for a message to his people. We may think the sentiment too optimistic but we can't help admiring the poet's attitude of mind. It suggests three factors we might adopt in any approach to present-day Korea: (1) an appreciation of Korea's rich cultural past - she was a lighted lamp; (2) an understanding of her more recent predicament - her light had failed; and (3) a hopefulness regarding her future - a faith that what once was great may yet again be great.

#### Korea's Cultural Past

It is good for us to be reminded that Asia had her golden age - an age that produced great men, great religions, great art, great literature, and great social systems. Korea shared in that cultural achievement, and her history makes a fascinating story. Only a few highlights can be mentioned here.

The origin of Korea as a nation is shrouded in legend, but her people persist in dating their official records from the time of Tangoon, their founder, in B.C. 2333. They probably came from the basin of the Sungari River in Manchuria, and are kin to the Mongols and the Manchus.

Close proximity to China brought continuous cultural influence from that mother of eastern civilization. Military invasions, attempts at colonization, migrations of political refugees, fugitives from Chinese justice, and escapees from the forced labour that built the great wall of China - all contributed to Korea's development.

The most outstanding of these events was the coming of Kija, in B.C. 1122, and the founding of a dynasty that lasted a thousand years.

We are still in the realm of legend, and all that can be confidently asserted is that Korea, to her cultural benefit, absorbed these outside influences, and that by the beginning of the Christian era the country was divided into three progressive kingdoms: Koguryu in the north (from B.C. 37), Paikche in the South-west (from B.C. 16), and Silla in the South-east (from B.C. 57).

By the middle of the 4th century (A.D. 372) Buddhism was introduced through Koguryu and began its long struggle with Confucianism for the heart and mind of the Korean people, both of them superimposed on the primitive belief, called Shamanism, brought from their ancestral home.



Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism

These three powerful forces have exercised a profound influence in moulding the character and determining the destiny of the Korean people. (1) Shamanism, with its peculiar awareness of the spirit world, its belief that man's destiny for weal or woe depends on the action of the unseen powers whose goodwill must be sought and kept. (2) Buddhism, with its basic emphasis on the misery of man's life and the means of escape from it, motivating its appeal on the delights of the contemplative life or the fear of the Buddhist hells. (3) Confucianism, with its robust assertion of man's control over his own destiny, and its assurance that salvation lies in submission to discipline within an ordered system of ethics and social organization.

To these three might be added Taoism which also exercised great influence over the Korean mind. Noja (Chinese Laotsze), the founder, is affectionately referred to as the 'old philosopher'. His system stands in contrast to the cold regulatory system of Confucius and urges men, individually, each by his own freewill, to find joy in simple things, happiness in his labour, contentment with few needs, and, for the scholar, satisfaction in the contemplation of the 'tao' or ultimate reason behind all things. From Taoism also came the belief in the world of fairies whose delight it is to enhearten poor dwellers on the earth.

Buddhism was the first and most powerful cultural influence to enter Korea (A.D. 372), and the rapidity and extent of its conquest of the Korean mind make an epic of missionary zeal and cultural achievement that is difficult to surpass. Within 200 years it had become the dominant religion in all three kingdoms and soon spread to Japan. In 552 the king of Paikche sent an ambassador to Japan carrying with him a golden image of Buddha, several sacred banners and copies of the sacred books. He also carried a letter which read: "This Buddhism is the most excellent of doctrines, faith in which will bring happiness and good fortune, enabling the believer to enter the highest enlightenment. .... I, King of Paikche, do now reverently transmit it to Japan that it may spread through your country, thus fulfilling the saying of Buddha, 'My doctrine shall spread eastward'."

Cultural Advance Under Silla (B.C. 57 - A.D. 935)

The richest flowering of Buddhist culture in Korea came during the first two centuries of Silla's supremacy. Conflict between the three Kingdoms finally led to the overthrow of Paikche in 660, and of Koguryu in 668. Thus united for the first time under Silla, and able to concentrate on cultural progress, Korea entered on what may be called her 'golden age'. Buddhist influence encouraged travel in Buddhist countries, and Korean priests, devotees and merchants visited China and India, returning with knowledge of current science, philosophy, art and handicrafts.

Kyungju, the capital of Silla, became a well-known cultural centre adorned with inspiring architecture and great art. Even to this day creation in wood, stone and bronze - pagodas, temples, images of Buddha, an observatory tower, a great bronze bell, gold crowns and precious stones - remain to remind us of the glory that once was Silla. We make special mention of only two of these.



(1) The most inspiring of Silla's ancient sculptures is the Buddha of the Cave of Suk-kool-am, near Kyung-ju. A row of figures in bas-relief guard the entrance to the cave. Dr. Gale calls attention to the figure of Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, attended by "a queenly lady with uplifted chalice, clad in soft robes that cross her graceful form. Her face, her poise, her manner might easily make her ... Cleopatra." In the cave temple surrounded by fifteen more bas-relief figures, sits the ten-foot Buddha enshrined in a lotus blossom. Madam E. A. Gordon, an early visitor to the shrine, writes that "the indescribably beautiful image is carved in two kinds of stone and its rosy lips give it an almost startling appearance of life".

(2) The great bronze bell of Kyung-ju is a perpetual tribute to the technical skill and artistic sense of Silla's craftsmen. Standing twelve feet high, with a diameter of seven and a half feet, it weighs eighty tons. Beaten with a swinging ram of hardwood its vibrations, they tell us, were felt some thirty miles away. The inscription embossed on its face tells the virtues of King Sung Tuk, in whose honour it was cast. Dr. Gale's translation is worth quoting:

"True religion lies beyond the realm of visible things; its source is nowhere seen. As a sound is heard through the air without giving any clue to its whereabouts, so is religion. Thus we hang this great bell that it may awaken the call of the Buddha. So ponderous is it that it can never be moved - a fitting place on which to ascribe virtues to the king. Great Sung-Tuk is his name, his deeds eternal as the hills and streams, his glory as the sun and moon. He called the true and noble to aid him in his rule. He encouraged the farmer to joy in his work and the merchant to the exercise of honesty. Gold and jewels were accounted as nothing in his sight, while useful knowledge and skill of hand were treasures above compare. His great aim was the right-ordered life. For this reason people came from afar to seek his counsel, and all revered him for his worth."

#### The Koryo Dynasty (A.D. 918 - 1392)

By the end of the ninth century Silla was in decline and in 935 yielded to the rival kingdom of Koryo which had established itself in Songdo a few years previously. It is from this dynasty that we get the name of Korea.

With the Koryo kingdom, which lasted until 1392, Korea entered on what may be called her Middle Ages. Three aspects of her cultural life in this period are often noted.

First is the remarkable skill which Korean craftsmen attained in the production of ceramics. Articles have survived which show a classical perfection of line and colour which has gained for them a reputation as artistic works of the highest order. It is generally conceded that "the artistic quality of the different shades of colour, the exquisite shapes of the articles, and the workmanship of inlaying, stand out distinctively as one of the most beautiful achievements of ceramic art in the world."



Next is the progress made in the art of printing. One stands amazed at the enormous task of collecting, engraving and printing the Buddhist scriptures, undertaken by a host of priests as a saving act of merit during the Mongol invasion in the 13th century. 81,258 hardwood blocks, beautifully carved on both sides, thus making over 160,000 plates which, when printed and folded in the middle, give 320,000 pages, remain intact to this day and are preserved in the Hae-in-sa temple in Kyung-sang province. Still more notable was the invention of moveable metal type which, according to Korean records, was first used in 1230, full two hundred years before Gutenberg introduced it in Europe. Along with this went the improved production of Korean paper which had already gained a reputation in the east for its whiteness, smooth texture and durability.

The third fact of Korean life during the Koryo era is not a happy one. It relates to the decline and fall of Buddhist supremacy. During the Koryo regime Buddhism was made the national religion and all Koreans were compelled to give nominal allegiance to the church. Buddhist temples and monasteries flourished and became centers of the culture, in which literature, art and even war were taught. At first this made for progress but ultimately for disaster. So powerful did the hierarchy become that it was eventually decreed that the third member of every family take the cowl. The inevitable result was political corruption and moral depravity. "The monasteries," writes Dr. George Paik, "became great sores and tainted all society with a moral rotteness."

By the end of the 14th century the times were ripe for revolt and when the Yi dynasty drove Koryo from power in 1392 one of the first acts of the new regime was to banish all priests from the capital city and to rank them among the lowest class in society. So thoroughly discredited did Buddhism become that, to quote again from Dr. Paik, "by the 19th century only a few monasteries remained and Buddhism had little hold on the people."

#### Under the Yi Dynasty (1392 - 1910)

With the rise of the Yi dynasty Korea experienced the greatest revolution of her history. Buddhism which had dominated government and people for a thousand years was replaced by Confucianism which had been its constant critic and rival. The capital was transferred from Songdo to Seoul, the name of the country changed from Koryo to Chosun and the entire life of the country reorganized according to the Confucian system.

The basic principle of the Confucian system was that peace and prosperity depend on the faithful observance of right relationships - between king and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend. These relationships were determined by reference to the writings of the Confucian School, and called for an attitude of responsibility and benevolence from all in authority, and for an attitude of obedience and respect from all under authority.

The new regime initiated an era of progress that marks the 15th century as the second golden age of Korean history. Education was encouraged, with the result that almost every village had its school room. Official appointments were made on the basis of examination in the classics. Appeals against corruption or inefficiency were made possible, and secret visits of investigation by central officials were frequently





carried out. The lot of the common people was greatly improved. Lands held by Buddhist temples and monasteries were distributed among the peasants and improved methods of farming introduced.

### Cultural Advance Under the Yi Dynasty

Encouragement was given to cultural achievement. Many of the best surviving examples of Korean architecture date from this period. Beautiful gates, palaces, pavillions and banquetting halls still stand to bear witness to the artistic sense and architectural skill of Korean craftsmen. A classical simplicity is seen in their general outline, in the clean, strong lines of their pillars, the long straight roofs with gently tilted corners, the wide-spread eaves, closely bound to the lower structure, yet stretching gracefully upward and outward like the wings of a great bird, and an overall restraint in the use of ornamentation.

One of the greatest achievements of the Yi dynasty was the invention of the Korean alphabet, a native script. Until this time, the only means of writing possessed by Koreans was the cumbersome Chinese ideograph, difficult to learn and unable to record the common speech of the people. King Sejong (1397-1450) determined to provide a means of reading and writing that could be easily learned by all, thus opening to them the joys of literature. He commissioned a number of scholars to work on the project, and after many years' labour they produced (in 1446) an alphabet that is now known as Han-keul.

Han-keul is one of the most perfect systems of phonetic writing ever produced. It consists of 14 consonants and 10 vowels. In the case of four of the vowels, the simple expedient of doubling the stroke adds the sound of "y", so that in reality there are only six basic vowels. Similarly, in the case of five of the consonants a slight change in the original character makes it aspirated. Thus the total number of characters the learner has to master is reduced to around sixteen or seventeen. They are so few in number and so simple in form, and their combination so skillfully contrived that the average person can memorize them after a few hours' work. It is a masterly achievement of which Korea can be justly proud.

Unfortunately, the literati opposed the use of Han-keul and saddled on the Korean people the continued use of the Chinese ideograph. The native script never attained the popular respect it deserved and Korea missed the widespread cultural progress its use might have produced. Even to this day South Korea persists in the use of the Chinese ideograph, though North Korea, under a communist government, has abandoned it and given Han-Keul its rightful place as the national script.

The good king Sejong, as he is justly called, is famous also for his encouragement of scientific studies and technical advance. His name is associated with the development of agriculture; the production of rain gauges of uniform size and standard; the invention of improvement of an intricate and elaborate water-clock which told not only the time of day but the phases of the moon; the perfection of moveable type made of brass; the preparation of a yearly almanac; the compilation of a medical encyclopedia extending to 365 volumes; and the modernization of musical theory and instruments. There is undoubtedly exaggeration here, common to all hero worship, but it can truthfully be said that King Sejong is rightly revered as the wisest and best of the many kings in Korean history.



## The Hideyoshi Invasion (1593 - 1598)

The golden age of the Yi dynasty did not last long. By the beginning of its second century court intrigue and political factionism began to plague the government and people. Trouble was compounded by Korea's entanglement in the military adventures of neighbouring states.

The first of these was the Japanese general Hideyoshi's ambition to conquer China and his demand for unopposed passage through Korea. Korea refused and found her country overrun by an army of 250,000 Japanese who fought their way as far north as Pyengyang before being stopped by lack of supplies and the combined opposition of Korean and Chinese troops. On the retreat to their base in Pusan they pillaged and destroyed to such an extent that, according to Dr. George Paik, "the loss of life was so great, the devastation of the fairest and most fertile portions of the land so extensive, and the destruction of national treasure so vast that Korea never completely recovered from the disaster."

The one event in this tragic experience which the Koreans delight to remember is the daring and imaginative exploits of Admiral Yi Sun Shin, which compare with those of Admiral Drake in his defeat of the Spanish Armada.

The Japanese had made surprise landings on the south coast and were present on Korean soil in force. The task given Admiral Yi Sun Shin was that of harassing the Japanese navy and blocking the coming of supplies and re-enforcements from Japan. He secretly built war vessels, called Kobooksun, or turtle boats (because of their shape), which were the first of their kind.

The Kobooksun were larger than most ships of that period, being 110 feet long, with a 28 foot beam. They stood 7 1/2 feet from bottom to deck and had a bulwark above the deck to a height of 5 feet. The deck was roofed over with a heavy covering to protect the crew and spiked to make boarding difficult. They were built for speed yet with timbers heavy enough (4 inches thick) to resist fire arrows and cannon shot. They had provision for emitting smoke which not only struck terror to the hearts of the enemy but acted as a smoke screen to hide the movements of the fleet. They were probably armed with 40 or more 3 inch cannon. They carried a crew of 40 oarsmen, in addition to the fighting men. The deck may or may not have been covered with metal. Dr. H. H. Underwood, from whose description the above facts have been drawn, states that there are no historical records pointing to this fact.

By means of this fleet and with amazing courage, daring and imagination Admiral Yi repeatedly destroyed fleets of Japanese ships and contributed decisively to the final discomfiture of the Japanese forces and their eventual withdrawal from Korea. His name and fame is revered among his own people and should be inscribed on the roll of the world's great naval commanders.

No sooner had Korea begun to recover from the Japanese invasion than she was subjected to another invasion from the north. The Manchus had gradually become a formidable power, with a flourishing capital in Mukden, and were making preparations for an onslaught on Peking. In order to secure their rear they had first to deal with Korea which was friendly to China. They began an all-out invasion in the winter of 1636. Their sudden appearance caught the Koreans unprepared, and forced the



king and his troops to evacuate the capital. The royal family and records were sent to Kangwha, the island fortress off the mouth of the Han River. The king and his bodyguard took refuge in the inland fortress of Namhan, near Seoul. The Korean garrison held the latter for two months before being starved out and forced to surrender to the Manchus who took two princes north as hostages.

### Far-Eastern Isolationist Policy

The conquest of China by the Manchus (1644) coincided with the beginning of European search for raw material and channels of trade in the orient, and led to the closed-door policy of China, Japan and Korea. In the case of Korea this policy was further dictated by her harsh experience of invasion at the hands of Japan and the Manchus. For the next two and a half centuries she sealed herself off from foreign intercourse, with the exception of a yearly embassy to Peking to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of China.

This policy of isolationism, while bringing peace within her own borders and freedom from outside aggression, also brought stagnation in every area of life. The Confucian system, to which Korea owes much, held within itself the seeds of its own destruction. It held before the Korean people the ideal of the superior man, schooled in the classics, orderly in his habits, restrained in his emotions, benevolent towards all beneath him and submissive towards all above him. But it idealized a fixed pattern of life which stifled initiative and opposed all change and progress. It encouraged pride of place and misuse of power. It developed factions both within its own schools and in the political life of Korea and led to intrigue and violence in pursuit of power. Dr. George Paik sums it up concisely: "it did not prevent the oppression of the masses, general poverty, the treachery and corruption of officialdom and the degradation of womanhood which were so characteristic of Korea in the last century."

### The Predicament of Present-Day Korea

Korea was the last of the three far-eastern nations to open her doors to foreign intercourse. China, in 1841 and 1860, had been forced to do so by western military intervention; Japan, in 1853, by the threat of it. Korea stubbornly held to her isolation for twenty years longer, winning for herself the title of 'The Hermit Nation'. Finally, in 1876, Japan succeeded in opening treaty relations with her, and was soon followed by other countries.

Korea was ill-prepared to enter the field of international relations. Not only did her long period of isolation leave her inexperienced in foreign diplomacy, but her own internal disorder and her strategical geographical location made her peculiarly open to intrigue by her three powerful neighbours, China, Japan and Russia.

For some 500 years Korea, while retaining complete autonomy in internal affairs, had acknowledged Chinese suzerainty by sending an annual embassy to Peking. After entering treaty relations with other nations, her entrenched officialdom sought to perpetuate this special relationship with China and to oppose modern reforms. This led to internal strife, with China supporting the reactionary party and Japan supporting the reform party. China was finally eliminated from Korean affairs by her defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, and in 1896



the Korean king assumed the title of Emperor to signify that Korea was no longer tributary to China.

### Russia in the Far-East

China was no sooner eliminated than Russia entered the stage to compete with Japan for paramount influence in Korea. Her connection with the Far-East dates back to the 17th century when Russian explorers had travelled eastward as far as the Sea of Okhotsk and settlements had sprung up in Kamchatka, the Aleutian islands and Alaska. The Manchus claimed rights on both sides of the Amur River and denied the Russians the use of that river to make contact by water between inland Baikal and their Pacific coast settlements. By 1854, however, Russia had occupied the Amur and all territory north of it, and in 1860, in return for her good offices in negotiations between China and England, received from China the cession of a coastal strip reaching from the mouth of the Amur River to the border of Korea. That same year she founded the city of Vladivostok.

Encouraged by this success, Russia pursued her further ambition to secure an ice-free port on the Pacific which would serve the double purpose of providing a coaling station for her ships en route to Vladivostok and give her a naval base to counteract British influence in the Far-East. Her attempt to secure a foothold on Tsushima in 1861 was halted only by a Japanese appeal to the British navy. In 1844 she occupied Port Lazarus (Wonsan) in Korea and only gave it up when the British retaliated by occupying Port Hamilton on an island in South Korea. Russia joined France and Germany in thwarting Japan's occupation of the Laotung peninsula after her defeat of China. But on the withdrawal of Japan, Russia immediately secured that territory for her own use. She further antagonized Japan by taking over the position of influence in Korea vacated by China.

Russian intrigue in Korea was a constant irritation to Japan. Aided and abetted by her French ally she was permitted to establish a Russo-Korean bank and proceeded to negotiate for valuable mining concessions. Japan made every effort to reach an agreement with her by negotiation, offering in 1898 to withdraw any claim to special interest in Manchuria, incident on her defeat of China, if Russia would withdraw from Korea. Russia, however, under-estimating the strength of Japan, rejected all approaches and continued her drive for favours in Korea. She obtained, among others, a valuable timber concession on the Yalu and a coaling station at Masampo in the south.

War between Japan and Russia seemed inevitable and Japan made preparations. Her position was greatly strengthened by forming an alliance with Great Britain. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 was motivated "solely by a desire to maintain the status quo and general peace in the extreme East," and to uphold "the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea." At the same time it recognized that whereas England had special interests in China, Japan had interests not only in China, but "in a peculiar degree, politically as well as commercially and industrially", in Korea. This clause was to open the door to future action by Japan in regard to Korea.





The Russo-Japanese War

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 ended in the defeat of Russia and her elimination from the Korean scene. It left Korea, however, occupied by the Japanese army. "Martial law was proclaimed, railways built for military purposes with forced labour, and under the plea of military necessity much property was confiscated." Hordes of Japanese colonists and carpetbaggers added insult to injury and Japan's position in world opinion was so favourable that Korea had no outside friends to plead her cause.

Events followed in rapid succession which finally ended in the loss of nationhood. She was declared a Protectorate of Japan in 1905. In 1907 the Emperor was forced to abdicate and the Korean army disbanded. Widespread disturbances and disorder followed which culminated in the assassination, in 1909, of Marquis Ito, the Resident-General, and the annexation of Korea to Japan in August 1910.

The Japanese Regime (1905-1945)

Thus began the Japanese regime which continued until the defeat of Japan in 1945. It brought to Korea an efficient administration, established law and order, introduced modern industry and modern conveniences, and greatly extended health and educational facilities. Yet an impartial critic, Maurice Zinkin, writing for the Institute of Pacific Relations gives facts and figures to show "the thoroughness with which the Japanese acted on the theory that the purpose of all colonial rule is to benefit the imperial power." (Asia and the West, pp. 64-65 ). Very brief reference only can be attempted here.

On annexation, Japan took over all royal and public land and two-thirds of the forests. Grants of timber lands and mineral rights were liberally distributed to Japanese interests who possessed the capital, equipment and skills required to exploit them. Large sections of the best cultivated land came into Japanese hands, purchased at low prices from poor Koreans. 30,000 Japanese fishermen equipped with modern trawlers and government permits to fish the best grounds were able to catch more fish than the 480,000 Korean fishermen. The big fish buyers, curers, canners and exporters were Japanese. In agriculture, the use of commercial fertilizer and improved methods had doubled the farm production in thirty years, but during the decade preceding World War II most of the increase was shipped to Japan at controlled prices and the Koreans forced to eat inferior imported rice.

Big industry was entirely controlled by Japanese and came to Korea because land and labour were cheap and protective labour laws non-existent. Profits went largely to Japanese industrialists and supervisors. Transportation, communication, currency and banking were in Japanese hands. The chief clerks in government offices and banks, engine drivers and guards on railways, foremen and mechanics in factories were Japanese. The army of course, was Japanese and perhaps two-thirds of the police force. All school principals and a majority of the teachers in secondary and higher schools were Japanese. In 1940, out of 225 judges, only 20 were Korean, and only one of the 13 provincial governors.



The excuse that Korea lacked qualified personnel for these posts would have more point if the Japanese government had made greater effort to educate and train their Korean subjects. Only a small part of the annual budget went for education, and there was a marked disparity in the provision made for Korean children and that made for children of Japanese residing in Korea. Every child of the 400,000 Japanese in Korea was in primary school, but only one in three of the children of twenty million Koreans. There were almost as many Japanese as Koreans receiving high school education, and in the one university and its affiliated colleges allowed Korea there were two or three times as many Japanese students as Korean.

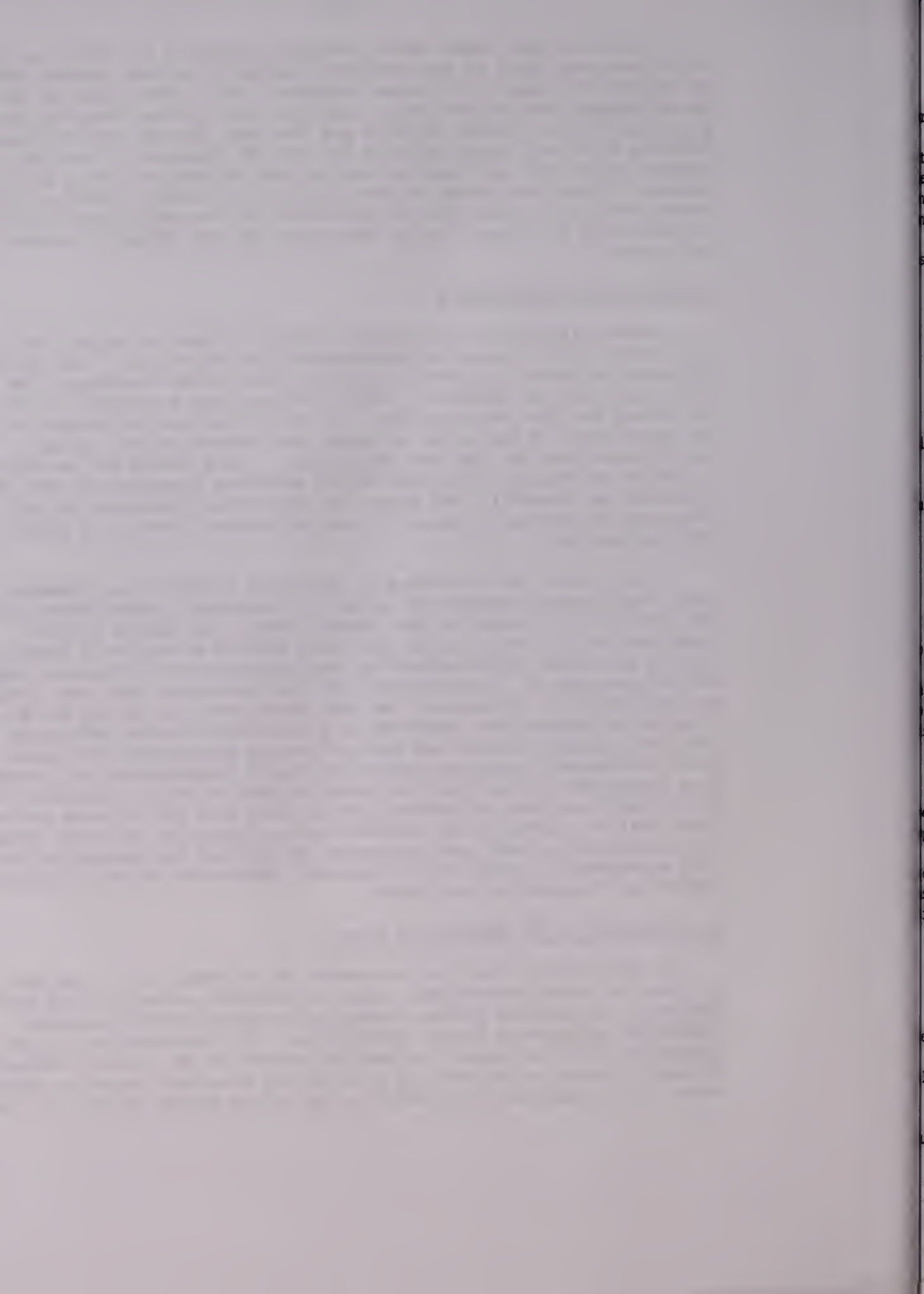
### Liberation and Independence

Korea's liberation came with the defeat of Japan in August 1945, but circumstances delayed her independence for three years. The first reference to Korea in allied war policy occurs in the findings of the Cairo Conference of December 1, 1943. At that time Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai Shek declared that "the three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall be free and independent." This pledge was re-affirmed at Yalta in February 1945, when Stalin added his guarantee to that of Roosevelt and Churchill; and again, at the Potsdam Conference of July 1945 when all four great powers - America, Britain, Russia and China - were represented.

A new factor was introduced at the Moscow Conference of December 1945, when Russia persuaded the allies to establish a Joint-Trusteeship for Korea up to a period of five years. During this period a Joint Commission of U.S. and U.S.S.R. personnel were to consult with "Democratic parties and social organizations on the formation of a provisional democratic government." In accordance with this agreement, the Joint Commission met frequently for discussion, but soon discovered that Russia was determined to obstruct the formation of a provisional Korean government. The "Trusteeship" decision had met with strong disapproval from Korean political leaders, not only because it delayed independence, but because they feared the Russians would utilize the time to build a communist regime in the North and thus effectively divide Korea into two separate zones. Using this as a pretext, the Russians, over a period of two years refused to recognize or consult with any Korean leaders who had opposed the trusteeship arrangement. Since this included all democratic leaders, negotiations repeatedly foundered on this point.

### Establishment of The Republic of Korea

In this impasse the U.S. government, in September 1947, laid the question of Korean independence before the General Assembly of the United Nations which resulted in the creation of a United Nations Temporary Commission to Expedite Korean Independence. The commission met in Seoul, January 1948 but was unable to function because of the U.S.S.R. refusal to co-operate, even to the point of refusing the commission entry to North Korea. The Commission so reported to the United Nations which, on February



26, authorized it to proceed with elections in all Korea if possible, or in as much of Korea as was accessible to them. Elections were held in South Korea on May 10, which resulted in the election of a constituent assembly. By July 12 the Assembly had prepared and adopted a national constitution. On July 30 they elected Syngman Rhee the first President, and on August 15, 1948 the inauguration ceremony was held which brought the Republic of Korea into being.

### Establishment of Communist Government in North Korea

The Russians retaliated by proclaiming, on September 10, the establishment of The People's Democratic Republic of Korea, with Pyeng-Yang as its capital. This government is patterned on that of the U.S.S.R., with power concentrated in the Central Committee and its Presidium, and with control exercised through the Korean Labour (Communist) Party and a hierarchy of people's committees. It is a one-party rule, all elections being carried out on the basis of a one-party ticket.

### The Korean War (1950-1953)

Evidence was soon forthcoming that one task the Russians had done well in North Korea was the building of a large, well-trained and well-equipped fighting force which invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950. South Korea was not prepared for the onslaught. The establishment of the new republic as an independent nation had led to the gradual evacuation of the Allied occupation troops. The defence of the country was now in the hands of the Korean army, still in process of being trained and equipped by a U.S. Military Advisory Group. Still in its infancy and supplied only with small arms and light artillery (in order to discourage any effort to re-unite north and south by force), the South Korean army was ill-equipped even for defence.

Their weakness was known to the communist north and led them to venture on an all-out military invasion of the south which almost succeeded in bringing the entire south under communist control. This was only prevented by the vigorous and decisive action of President Truman who committed the U.S. Army and persuaded the United Nations to undertake military intervention to stop aggression. But not before most of South Korea was overrun, devastated and ruined. During a year of bitter struggle the Korean communist army was badly defeated, only to be replaced by a Chinese communist army which eventually led to a stalemate. On the suggestion of Russia truce talks began in mid-summer 1951 and dragged on for two years until an armistice was finally signed on July 27, 1953.

### The Rise and Fall of The Syngman Rhee Government

Dr. Syngman Rhee was the natural choice to become the first President of the Republic of Korea. He had spent most of his life in exile working for Korean independence. He returned to Korea in 1945 and was popularly hailed as the leading patriot among many others who returned at that time.



By 1948, when the republic came into being, he was the only one of 'the old guard' remaining in South Korea, and his election by the newly constituted National Assembly was virtually unanimous and widely acclaimed. His stout antagonism to both the Japanese and the Communist north appealed strongly to a people who still smarted under their long humiliation at the hand of the Japanese and were all too conscious of their present peril from communism.

An out and out individualist, Syngman Rhee found it difficult to delegate authority or master the give-and-take of party politics. He organized his followers into the 'Liberal' party which drew its main support from the rural constituencies. Confronted by determined opposition from the 'Democratic' party whose strength lay in the cities, he was not adverse to using questionable means of imposing his will on the National Assembly. A statement made by a later administration sums up the situation in fair and generous terms:

"After the Armistice, Dr. Rhee's government grew increasingly authoritarian, and the corruption of officials became a national disgrace. Rhee's aging mind was apparently unable to accept new ideas, and he became increasingly isolated from the people, partly because of the increasing mental and physical infirmity, partly because he was shielded from reality by a human curtain of secretaries, guards and officials who utilized his lack of information for their own selfish purposes."

Several steps led to the final downfall of the Rhee administration, chief of which were (1) the National Security Law of 1958 which gave the police almost unlimited authority to arrest and imprison anyone for vaguely defined anti-state activities; and (2) the "rigged" election of 1960 which triggered a nation-wide student uprising which led to the suicide of the newly-elected Vice President and the resignation of President Rhee. Thus ended what came to be known as The First Republic.

### The Second Republic

Before relinquishing office President Rhee appointed Mr. Huh Chang to head an interim government until changes in the constitution were made and new elections held. The main constitutional change was the adoption of the parliamentary system, with the President as ceremonial head, without executive powers, and the Prime Minister chosen by and responsible to the House of Representatives. Elections carried through on the basis of the newly-amended constitution resulted in the Democratic Party coming to power with an overwhelming majority. But hopes that Korea might now enter an era of honest and efficient government were doomed to failure. Corruption had gone so deep and the Democratic Party was so badly split into rival factions, that the administration found itself powerless to function constructively. Corruption and impotence continued for almost a year when, on May 16, 1961, a reform group of army officers intervened and set up a Military regime.





## The Third Republic

The military junta, functioning as "The Supreme Council", held governmental control for over two years. They drew up a new constitution, closely patterned on the presidential system of the U.S.A., which was adopted by the nation by popular referendum. According to this constitution the President was to be elected by popular vote, to hold office for four years, and to be limited to two consecutive terms of office. Elections took place in October, 1963 and resulted in the election of General Park Chung Hee, the chairman of the Supreme Council, who, in accordance with the constitution, had resigned his military office six months previously in order to run as a civilian candidate.

## Rapid Industrialization Policy

During its first two terms, the administration of President Park brought new vigor and discipline into the Korean economy so that she earned the distinction of becoming one of the fastest developing countries among the emerging nations of the world. Foreign capital and technological know-how poured into the country, especially from U.S.A. and Japan. This trend was hastened by the normalization of relations with Japan in 1966, and by the U.S.A. military outlay for the large Korean expeditionary force that was sent to Vietnam. Evidence of the growing prosperity is seen in the modernized railway system, the spectacular rapid transit highways, the elevated speedways in Seoul, the emergence of large industrial plants and the burgeoning of high-rise office and apartment buildings in all the large cities. Unfortunately, the evils of rapid industrialization are also much in evidence - over-crowding, pollution and exploitation. The benefits of the new prosperity go largely to the few, while the lot of the many is made more difficult. Many of the industries that have sprung up in Korea make their profit by the exploitation of Korea's chief raw material, her cheap labour, and by the practical non-existence of labour laws and labour unions to protect the working class.

## Constitutional Changes

Constitutional changes under the present regime have been even more startling than the changes in the economic life of Korea. As already noted, the constitution under which President Park was first elected limited his holding of that office for two consecutive terms only. During his second term, in 1969, the President requested the National Assembly to allow a change in the constitution which would permit him to run for a third term. This request brought nation-wide protest and bitter debate in the National Assembly. It was finally passed, after long delay, and by the government's resort to questionable political manipulation. It was later approved by national referendum, but the popular displeasure was reflected in the election of 1971 when President Park was returned by a greatly reduced majority, his opponent, Kim Dae Joong, receiving 46% of the popular vote.



This event was the beginning of what proved to be the death of democracy in Korea and the birth of a virtual dictatorship. By nature and training President Park was unable to understand or tolerate the rough and tumble of democratic politics or the free expression of opinion voiced by a free press or concerned academic groups. As a military man he was accustomed to giving orders and expecting unquestioned obedience to them. From the beginning of his third term in office he set out to make radical changes. Among his first acts was the issuing of new regulations designed to curb student demonstrations and the freedom of the press. He soon made known his opinion that western democracy was unsuited to conditions in Korea and that he would produce a new constitution that would embody Korea's own brand of discipline, law and order. The police, and especially the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, were given a free hand to investigate and intimidate anyone who was critical of the government. Laws were passed forbidding criticism or even discussion of public affairs. Arrests were made on unsubstantiated charges of communist conspiracy to over-throw the government, and heavy sentences imposed. Emergency measures were invoked, and finally, on October 17, 1972 Martial Law was proclaimed, and the new "Revitalization Constitution" was publicly announced.

The new constitution is a document "from which all meaningful democratic elements have been eliminated", and which concentrates all power in the President, enabling him to continue as a virtual life-term dictator. The President is no longer elected by popular vote, but by a new body called "The National Conference", composed of no less than 2000 and no more than 5000 members, who are elected by popular vote, are thirty years old or more, are not connected with any political party, or hold any public office. The two main duties of the National Conference are: (1) to elect the President, and (2) to elect one-third of the members of the National Assembly, as nominated by the President. The President is chairman of the National Conference.

The President is elected for a six year term but there is no limitation of the number of terms he may occupy that office. The National Assembly is continued but Presidential control is assured by the provision that one-third of its members are nominated by the President and two-thirds elected by popular vote. Though political parties are allowed to function no candidate for election need seek the nomination of a party, as formerly. The supreme authority of the President is safeguarded by his legal power to take emergency measures, and his judgment regarding the necessity for this action "is not subject to any judicial restriction or review". The constitution is based on the assumption that "the overall power of the President should be a prerequisite to the democratic powers of the administrative and legislative branches."

As one who spent his entire working life in Korea and learned to love and admire the Korean people, this turn of events in the



political field is the source of great sorrow and disappointment. During the Japanese colonial period we saw how the spirit of the Korean people was crushed under bitter colonial rule, and we longed for the day when a Korean government would take over and release that spirit to creative endeavour for their Korean nation. Instead of that we now see a Korean government impose a system that is even more oppressive than the Japanese because there are no language barriers to police and C.I.A. surveillance. Our one source of hope lies in the fact that present-day Korea is still experimenting with a national constitution. Already three constitutions have been tried and discarded. It is our hope that the present attempt will prove to be temporary, and that something more worthy of this courageous and able people will emerge. The Korean people certainly deserve something better than the present virtual dictatorship.

## Chapter 2

### THE TORONTO GROUP OF FOUR

The first Canadians to enter Korea were four young men from Toronto who went out independently of any Canadian church. They were all men of exceptional ability and strength of character who became outstanding figures in the history of Korea Missions and of the Korean church. Their names were Gale, Fenwick, Hardie and Avison.

These men were products of the remarkable wave of missionary enthusiasm that swept the colleges of Britain and America in the late eighteen hundreds. A brief reference to it may help clarify our historical perspective.

#### Birth of the Student Volunteer Movement

The times were ripe for missionary action. Modern industry, with insatiable appetite, was stretching its tentacles to hitherto untouched areas of the globe in search of markets and raw material. The Christian conscience, already awakened to social abuses at home, was becoming more sensitive to the conduct of westerners abroad. Thinking people no longer could be indifferent to reports of The African Slave Trade, Opium Wars in China, Gunboats on the Yangtze, Black Ships in Tokyo Bay, and The Scramble for Colonies and Concessions everywhere. "Shall commerce go, and evangelism delay?" challenged a China missionary.



Positive factors, also, were at work. The tremendous impact of David Livingstone's life and death (1873) roused a new concern for Africa. The long closed doors of China, Japan and Korea were now open and beckoning with new challenge. D. L. Moody's heart-warming and heart-searching messages, backed by the scholarly appeal of Henry Drummond, were moving hundreds of students to action. The dedicated venture of the famous Cambridge Seven for China (1885) added new impetus. The Student Volunteer Movement came into existence (1886) and spread to colleges everywhere in the English-speaking world.

Canada felt the impact of the movement and colleges in Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and Halifax added their quota of students responding to the call. In the United States and Canada alone, upwards of 1800 students signed a declaration that they were "willing and desirous, God permitting, to be foreign missionaries."

### Toronto Colleges and Korea

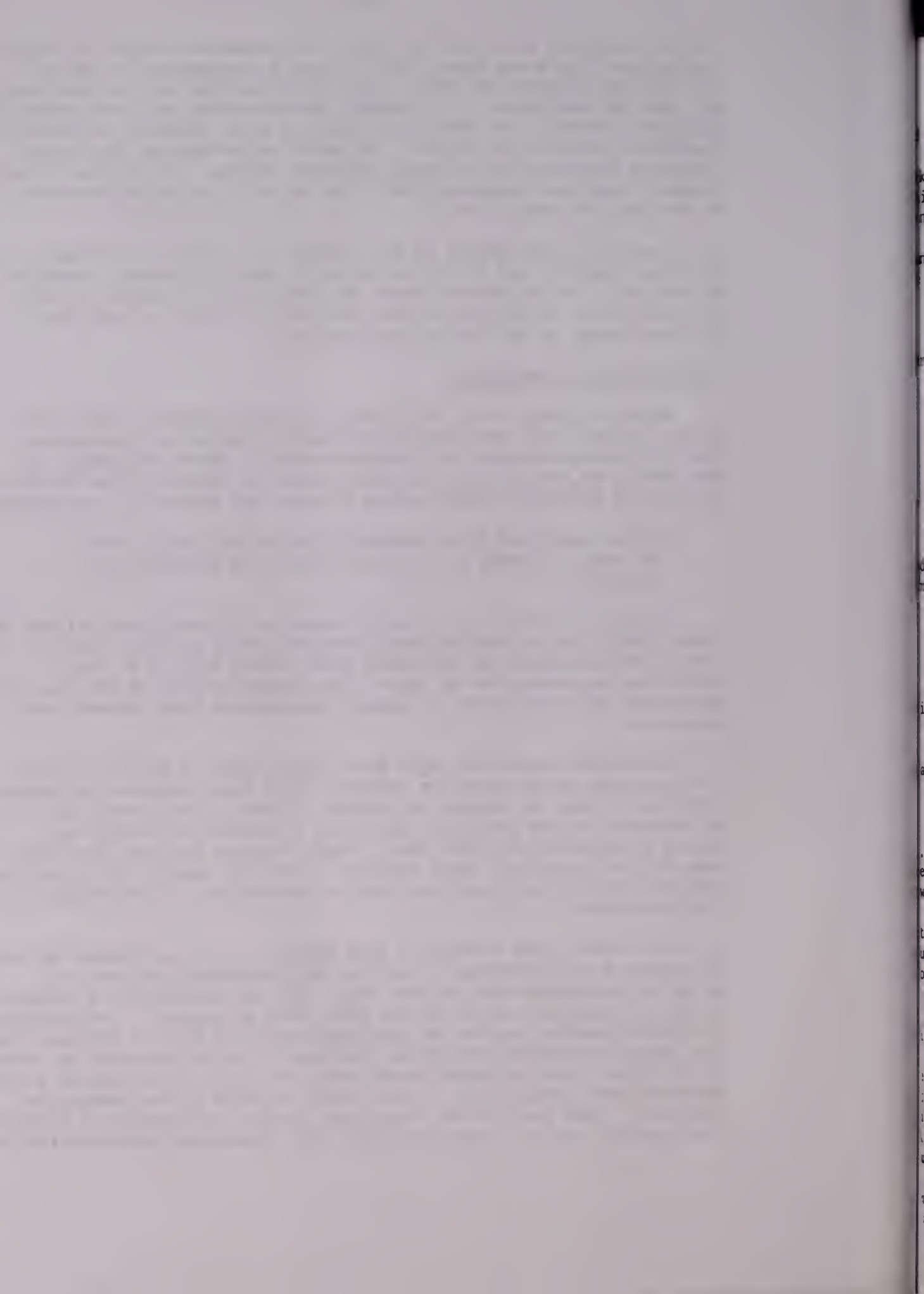
Toronto Colleges were the first in Canada to express concern for Korea. In May 1887, the Knox College Monthly carried an impassioned plea for foreign missions by Jonathon Goforth. After declaiming, in the fashion of that day, on the awful plight of China's "three hundred millions of Christless souls moving in mass upon eternity," he continued:

"Corea, last land to be opened to the gospel, calls loudly for help. Fifteen million souls await the messengers of the Lord."

Goforth, himself, was already pledged to represent Knox College in China (1887), but in the following year University College Y.M.C.A. took up the challenge and appointed James Scarth Gale to be their missionary representative in Korea. His salary of \$500.00 per year was guaranteed for eight years, by annual subscription from students and graduates.

Two issues arose that might have robbed Korea of Gale's services. A majority of the Presbyterian students would have preferred to co-operate with Knox College in support of Goforth in China. They were finally won by reference to the good that would come to University College by having a missionary of their own. "Apart from the blessing that might come to some idolatrous (sic) Coreans," reads the report, "it is not un-reasoning faith that feels that such an undertaking will be helpful to the university."

The second issue related to Gale himself. Some questioned the wisdom of sending a man untrained in theology and unordained, as Gale was. He was a graduate in Arts of that year. His appointment was a tribute to his own personal qualities and missionary enthusiasm. The committee in charge, however pointed out that their decision did not indicate that they lightly esteemed theological training. They had examined Mr. Gale on his belief and had asked him to subscribe "as a missionary of a pan-denominational association, to the basis of faith of the Evangelical Alliance." They had further instructed him not to establish an independent mission, but "to co-operate with other evangelical denominations at





work in the field."

The future was to prove both the wisdom of their choice and the validity of the two issues raised. Mr. Gale's decisive character and evangelical zeal, as well as his flair for languages, had already been demonstrated by the fact that he spent some time in Paris, during vacations, working for a French Evangelical Society. These traits he carried over in his work in Korea. However, he soon learned the need for denominational connection and within three years had joined the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. His lack of basic theological training may have predisposed him towards the literary and linguistic pursuits that he soon made his chief interest.

#### (1) James Scarth Gale

Mr. Gale arrived in Korea December 16, 1888. Two incidents, he felt, gave his missionary career an auspicious beginning. First, he left Canada with the blessing of D. L. Moody. The great evangelist was conducting meetings when Gale passed through Vancouver. "Off to Korea, are you?" he said, as he gripped Gale's hand. "Splendid, I'll pray for you. God bless you, young man." The words were a constant source of encouragement to him. Second, he was welcomed by Dr. H. G. Underwood to Korea, and one week later witnessed the baptism of eleven Korean converts, an earnest, he thought, of fruitful days to follow.

#### Life in the Village of Sorai

With characteristic zeal Gale set about the first task of a new missionary - learning the language and the ways of the people. In order to obtain more leisure for study and to come into closer contact with Korean life, he left the capital city and spent three months in the country village of Sorai, several days journey from his nearest English speaking neighbour. Here he laid the foundation for that mastery of the Korean language and understanding of Korean life for which he became noted. His later writings tell something of the hazards of life in a Korean village in those early missionary days.

Tigers were still plentiful in Korea and Sorai was a tiger infested region. Tiger stories, told in the flickering light of a tallow candle on a winter's night, struck fear in the hearts of grown men as well as little children. Sickness and death were common events - smallpox, cholera, typhus and malaria took their toll. Gale came to know Korea the hard way, living under a Korean grass roof, eating Korean food, sitting and sleeping on a Korean floor, holding conversations in the stifling atmosphere of a hermetically sealed room crowded with Korean men and straining to catch and express thoughts in an alien tongue.

He writes of "sitting all day on a heated stone floor" because the use of a chair, if one could be found, "would put you out of touch with the very world you were endeavouring to get at"; "sitting three hours cross-kneed" until "it becomes a veritable torture-rack, knees and hip joints and ankle bones crying out against you." He got the "close contact with Korean life" that he sought: "Crowds of Korean men. How they would trample over you! Men with Mongol thought .. shouting all manner of questions over and over, proposing that you measure strength of arm with them, asking for your hat and boots to try on." "Every door closed and no chink of ventilation allowed lest the tiger should come."



In such circumstances how could one escape the vermin - all kinds of them "more terrible than an army with banners and field-guns. Mountains of agony seem to overwhelm you." And finally the sleeping, if you could manage that, when courtesy required that the guest be given the hottest spot on the hot floor. "All night long the tossings and the tumbings would continue. Mixed with fire and laboured breathings, the room stifled for want of ventilation, and the whole universe apparently in torment." And throughout the three months, despite the kindness of your host, "seasons of loneliness that earthly friends know nothing of."

### Surveying the Land

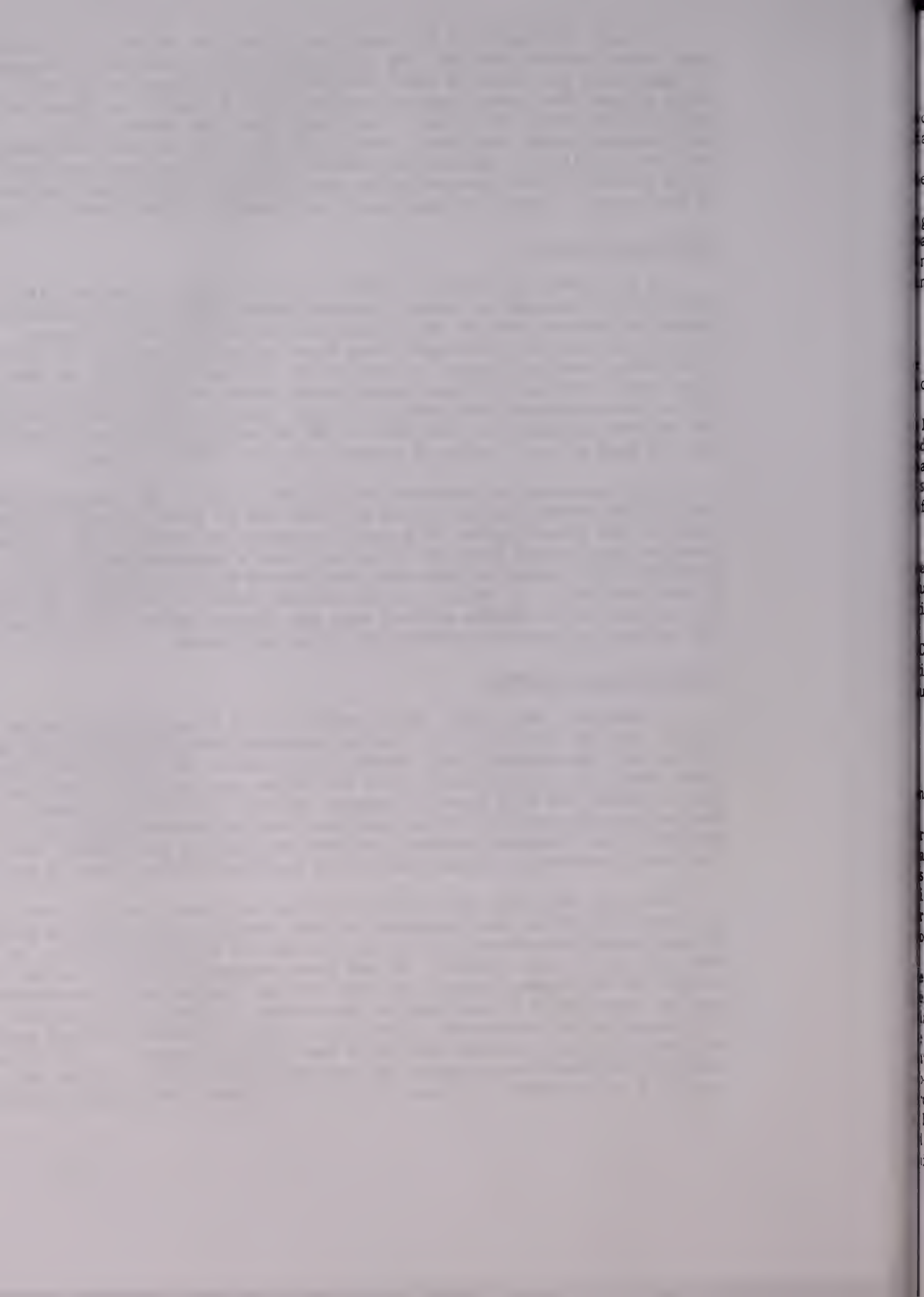
By June 1889 Gale wound up this intensive course in Korean life and language and returned to Seoul. Untrammelled by family ties or mission connection he next set out on an overland trip from Seoul to Pusan, touching the larger cities and towns in an unhurried journey. He tells of arriving, with his party, at the walled city of Taiku only to find the gates shut. Gaining entrance caused such commotion that they were hailed before the magistrate who finally released them on Gale's plea that since the day was December 31, the last day of the Western year, as a dutiful son, he must write a letter of greeting to his father in Canada.

Gale continued to represent his college Y.M.C.A. for over two years. Most of the second year was spent in Pusan and no doubt he made frequent visit to the famous places of historic interest in South Korea. It is probable that he had thoughts of making Pusan a permanent centre for Canadian work because he persuaded the Toronto Medical Students Y.M.C.A. to send out Dr. R. A. Hardie to open medical work in that city. As it turned out, before Hardie arrived Gale had already moved back to Seoul and decided to join the American Presbyterian Mission.

### To The Yalu And Beyond

In February 1891, Gale, now a member of the Presbyterian Mission, U.S.A., set out with Dr. S. A. Moffett on their historic trip to the Yalu and beyond. Altogether, they travelled 1400 miles and were absent from their home base from February 27 to the latter part of May. They travelled North, across the Yalu River to Mukden, met the Scottish missionaries there who had done so much for Korean settlers, visited Korean Christians in Manchuria, and returned through Changchin to Hamheung and Wonsan, territory which eventually became part of our Canadian Mission field in Korea.

Thus, by 1891, Mr. Gale had covered most of Korea. He had travelled the entire length of the peninsula and had crossed it from east to west. He had gained first-hand contact with Koreans in all walks of life, in most sections of the country. He had made remarkable progress in the mastery of the Korean language and had already started on his monumental work of compiling a Korean-English dictionary. He had served his apprenticeship as an independent missionary, under a Canadian college group. But now his days of roving were at an end for three reasons: (1) he had joined a denominational mission and was now under orders; (2) he had married a wife (1892), the widow of Dr. J. W. Heron, and acquired family



responsibilities; and (3) his linguistic and literary work, which increasingly became his first love, compelled him to stay closer to his study.

### His Literary Work

Gale's early interest in literary work never left him and no foreigner made greater effort than he to understand and interpret Korean language, literature and culture. Reference has already been made to his Korean-English dictionary. Suffice it to say that it became the standard work for many years and placed all missionaries and foreign residents in his debt.

He was tireless in his work of translation, from Korean into English and from English into Korean. Of the former are his Korean Folk Tales and The Cloud Dream of the Nine. His history of the Korean people is a mine of resource material on Korean ethnology, folk-lore and historical allusions, as well as quotations from the great Korean masters of the pen.

His translations from English into Korean are too many to enumerate here. As early as 1892 he was appointed to the Board of Translators of the Bible Society and gave faithful service for three decades in the work of translation and revision of scripture. The Christian Literature Society also benefited from his labour, chief among many translations being Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and Fosdick's Manhood of the Master. In 1926 he published an independent new translation of the Bible, financed by Yum Chi Ho. It appeared in mixed Chinese and Korean script and never really struck fire, but it stands as a tribute to the persistent, painstaking work of Gale and his chief assistant, Mr. Yi Won Mo.

Books and articles came from his lively pen which enriched such periodicals as The Korean Repository, The Korean Magazine and the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, and made him the interpreter par excellence of Korea to the West.

Of particular interest to us, however, is the fact that when the Presbyterian Church in Canada began its mission in Korea it was from Dr. Gale, a fellow Canadian, that our missionaries received the transfer of property in Wonsan and the work in the north-eastern section of Korea. It was he who gave them their first introduction to the Korean language and the Korean people. Though he worked for an American mission he retained his Canadian citizenship throughout. He retired in 1928 and resided in England until his death in 1937.

### (11) Malcolm C. Fenwick

The second of the Toronto Group of Four to go to Korea was Malcolm C. Fenwick, a young businessman whose religious experience led him to seek some field of Christian endeavour. He was influenced towards foreign missionary service through the visit to Toronto, in 1887, of R.P. Wilder of the Student Volunteer Movement in the U.S.A.

He lacked college or theological training but he was a keen student of the bible and, for several years, attended the annual bible conference held at Niagara-On-The-Lake. His physical appearance was strikingly im-



pressive and he had an able mind and a determined will. It is quite probable that he chafed under the disability of not having a degree and compensated by developing the strongly individualistic and often imperious attitude which later marred his relationship with many of his fellow missionaries.

His immediate problem, of course, was how to get to Korea. "When an acquaintance decided to go to Corea," he writes in his biographical sketch, (could that acquaintance have been Gale?) "I offered to go with him and hold the umbrella over his head while he preached, and to play the organ for him." One may be pardoned for wondering if more than humility lay behind that remark and the one that follows: "I felt that I could at least be a battered rusty can and carry the life-giving water." Eventually he secured financial backing from a group of business men in Toronto and arrived in Korea late in 1889.

After a few months residence in Seoul he followed the example of Gale and went to live in the village of Sorai. He bought land and built a house here in 1891, and did gardening while studying the language.

It was during his stay here that he wrote his famous letter to a friend in America, accusing Dr. Underwood, then touring America and Canada on behalf of missions, of exaggerating successes in Korea and baptizing converts who did not realize what they were doing. The letter was published and caused considerable furor in mission circles which led the Toronto Committee to discontinue Fenwick's support and to suggest his withdrawal from the field.

Meanwhile, he left Sorai and opened work in Wonsan. He returned to America in 1893 and spent three years in training which led to his ordination by two prominent Baptist ministers, Dr. Arthur T. Pearson and Dr. A. J. Gordon. He secured support from several individuals and organized an independent mission called "The Korean Itinerant Mission," returning to Korea in 1896 as its director.

#### Headquarters in Wonsan

On his return to Korea, Fenwick made his headquarters in Wonsan. His emphasis was upon an itinerant ministry, making use of 'native' workers instead of missionaries. He recruited workers and trained them in his own bible institute.

He strongly criticized the regular missions and churches as being over-organized, claiming that God was not in the Presbyteries, Assemblies or missionary conferences, but in the midst of the little flock, and especially with those who sit alone in quiet communion with the spirit.

This attitude inevitably led to conflict with other missionaries. For years he carried on a feud with Gale and Hardie, and was, for a time, at outs with Dr. Robert Grierson, one of his closest friends and admirers. Perhaps the most generous comment on this aspect of Fenwick's missionary life and work is that contained in the reply of Dr. R. P. McKay, our Board Secretary, in 1912, to a typical letter of Fenwick's.

"May I say," he writes that mild tempered and wise old mission secretary, "that I often wonder that so brainy a man as you does not see that the antagonistic attitude is not the best. I am not flattering when I say that I place a very high estimate on your ability. I





think you are not an average man - had a narrow escape from being a great man, and sometimes think how great the loss to the cause of missions that you were not able winsomely to co-operate with mission councils and bring your powers and judgments and spiritual emphasis to bear upon other missionaries and their work."

#### Appreciation of Fenwick's Work

Having said this, however, it is only fair to acknowledge that in at least two points Fenwick was ahead of his times in mission policy: (1) in his concern for improving the physical welfare of his "little flock", and (2) in his emphasis on the use of "native" workers rather than "foreign" missionaries in the spreading of the gospel.

(1) At Wonsan, as at Sorai, Fenwick bought a sizable piece of land and tried to make of it a sort of model farm, importing improved seed, plants and fruit trees. He introduced many Koreans in the district to the planting and care of orchards. No doubt some understanding of better living conditions and how to attain them rubbed off on the evangelists who studied in his bible institute and were carried with them on their itineraries. Certainly, his adopted son and heir, Mr. David Ahn, who ably ran his estate, greatly benefited from it.

(2) His emphasis on the use of "native" evangelists was not entirely new. All the organized missions did the same. What was new was his insistence that they be continually on the move, winning individuals, and not being too closely caught up in church, presbytery and assembly organizations. His was an itinerant mission.

It is difficult to estimate the success of his mission. We saw little result from it in the district worked by the Canadian Mission. In 1900, he was asked to take supervision of a small Baptist mission in the Kongju area, called the Ella Thwing Memorial Mission, which was being withdrawn for lack of funds. Fenwick made only infrequent visits to the 23 small groups of the mission, and depended on reports sent or brought to him, in Wonsan, by Korean workers.

He is remembered with gratitude by the Baptist missions that entered Korea from 1950 and which now boast 130 fully organized churches, with a constituency of around 18,000 persons. These missions, however, follow traditional mission policy.

Mr. Fenwick remained in Wonsan until his death on January 7, 1936.

#### (III) Robert Alexander Hardie

Reference was made above to Gale's appeal to the Toronto Medical Students YMCA to send a doctor to open medical work in Pusan. This YMCA was one of the most vigorous and aggressive student volunteer groups on the Toronto University campus and they made an immediate response to Gale's appeal. When Hardie graduated from the Medical School in the spring of 1890 they appointed him to be their medical missionary in Korea.



Dr. and Mrs. Hardie arrived in Korea in September 1890. Their original purpose was to open work in Pusan, but several reasons led them to spend the first winter in Seoul. Gale was now resident there and they wished to consult with him. Mrs. Hardie was expecting her second child and it was wise to be close to a larger missionary group. A third reason came in the nature of a request that Dr. Hardie supply as superintendent in the Royal Hospital in Seoul until the arrival, next spring, of Dr. C. C. Vinton, already designated to that post.

### Life in Pusan

In the spring Hardie was free to go to Pusan. Leaving his wife and family in Seoul he travelled south with his Korean language teacher, arriving in Pusan April 14, 1891. He spent most of his time in language study but also held a daily clinic for urgent cases. He writes that he used the open court yard as his clinic, the room he had rented in a Korean house being "too small and too dark for the purpose."

He was joined in August by Mrs. Hardie and the children, the first Western family to reside in Pusan. One must here pay tribute to a stout-hearted woman who braved the loneliness of life in a strange land, caring for her family in primitive conditions, in constant danger from prevalent diseases and epidemics, and yet keeping open house for frequent guests. For six weeks they occupied the Customs Quarantine house on Deer Island, and later secured a house in the Japanese settlement. During the fall and winter of 1891-1892, first Rev. and Mrs. W. M. Baird of the Northern Presbyterian Board, and later the newly arrived members of the Australian Mission, five in number, shared the limited accommodation of the Hardie home. From these early days began that gracious ministry of hospitality for which Mrs. Hardie became known throughout her long years of mission life in Korea.

### Founding of The Canadian Colleges Mission

As the work developed, the crowded conditions and lack of proper equipment led Dr. Hardie to consider means of securing more adequate support. He declined an invitation from the Australian Mission to join their staff as a medical missionary, preferring to remain under the Toronto Medical Student's mission. He urged, however, that since Mr. Gale had joined another mission, the two organizations in Toronto with work in Korea should unite and concentrate on Korea as their one field of labour. This suggestion met with favour and led to the formation, in March 1892, of the Canadian Colleges Mission which functioned for several years with remarkable success.

The origin of the Canadian Colleges Mission is explained by Dr. Harley Smith, its Secretary-Treasurer, in a prospectus issued in 1897:

"The Canadian Colleges Mission is an outgrowth of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. In 1888, the YMCA of Toronto University sent as a missionary to Corea Mr. James S. Gale, and two years later the Medical Students' YMCA, following their example,

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sent to the same field Dr. and Mrs. Hardie. In March 1892, Mr. Gale having joined another Board, these two associations, with a view to extending their work to other colleges, united in forming the C.C.M., with Dr. and Mrs. Hardie as its foreign representatives."

The mission attracted many able students and pressed its claim with exceptional vigour and boldness, and with a rare combination of spiritual emphasis and practical appeal. It secured as patrons no less personages than "Their Excellencies The Governor-General and the Countess of Aberdeen." Beginning in 1892 with the union of two associations, by 1897 it could boast 63 mission circles affiliated in colleges and model schools throughout Ontario, and one in McGill University, in Montreal.

The organization was "distinctly undenominational," and stated its object as "to impress upon and foster in the minds and hearts of Canadian students the claims of foreign missions." Adding with refreshing practicality that: "Zeal for any cause can be developed only in proportion as that zeal finds expression in practice: hence the work in Korea." The work in Korea is further defined as "the maintenance of a medical dispensary, where disease is alleviated, the gospel preached, and the example of a Christian home shown." It finally calls upon all members to "observe a season of special prayer, Saturday evenings, from 9 to 10 o'clock, the hour of the native Lord's Day morning service in Corea."

The Prospectus from which these quotations are taken was published while Dr. Hardie was home on furlough and probably reflected his conception of a missionary home base for work among students. His robust and wholesome attitude to mission work appealed strongly to the students. A later colleague tells us that one of his favourite aversions was "maudlin sentimentality about mission work. As though there was anything strikingly different about it, or that there were any particular discomforts or perils or sacrifices connected therewith."

The Canadian Colleges Mission was enough of a going concern to employ a travelling secretary and to publish a monthly magazine whose title page read:

The Canadian  
COLLEGE MISSIONARY  
Devoted to the Interests of Missionary Work  
in Canadian Colleges  
And to the Spreading of the Gospel in Corea

#### Transfer of Work to Wonsan

By 1892 the Presbyterian North mission and the mission of the Australian Presbyterian Church had opened work in Pusan. Dr. Hardie, therefore decided to transfer to Wonsan where Gale and Fenwick, both Canadians, were located. He continued to work there until 1898. They stayed at their post during the uncertain days of the Russo-Japanese war and went through several epidemics which took heavy toll of Korean lives. Furlough in 1896 gave opportunity for a re-appraisal of the whole venture, which led to the



decision to seek more dependable support than could be guaranteed by student groups. This led, finally, to a request from the Methodist Episcopal South, who had just opened a mission in Korea, for the services of Dr. Hardie as their medical missionary. He joined that mission on May 15, 1898.

#### Work Under The Methodist Episcopal South Mission

Dr. Hardie began his work in the Methodist mission by serving briefly in Songdo and Seoul. In 1900, however, he was transferred to Wonsan where he had spent so many years under the Canadian Colleges Mission. He remained there until 1908, dividing his time between medical work and evangelism.

It was during this period that he experienced a deep religious renewal which not only transformed his own life, but made him a leading figure in the great Korean Revival of 1907. It brought an unmistakable change in his own personal bearing: a new warmth and friendliness in Christian fellowship; a new sense of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, with its accompanying peace and joy; a new freedom in witnessing to the affairs of the spirit; a recognition that the primary force making for salvation is not man's effort but the working of God's spirit. Dr. Hardie was in great demand as a leader of retreats and was greatly used of God to enrich the life of the Korean church.

From 1909 until his retirement in 1935 he resided in Seoul and devoted himself to theological teaching and literary work. He served for nine years as President of the Union Methodist Seminary, during which time he also edited and published *The Theological World*, a magazine for church workers. He also found time to serve on the Board of Translators of the Christian Literature Society and of the Literature Department of the Methodist Church.

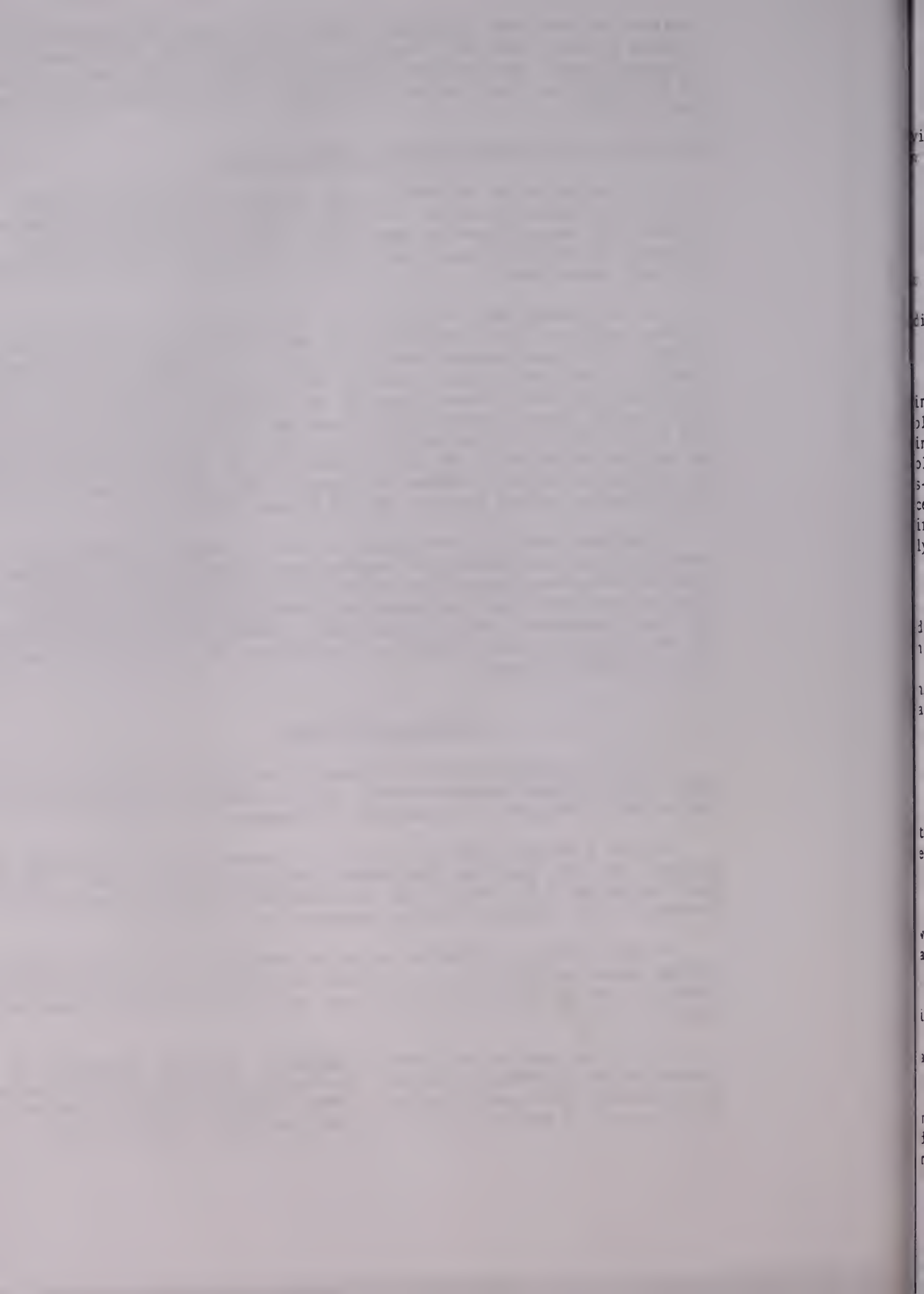
#### (IV) Oliver R. Avison

Dr. O. R. Avison was the only one of the Toronto Four who went to Korea under a church mission board; and his board was an American one. But he was a Canadian, and remained so throughout his career.

He was a Toronto medical student who graduated from the College of Pharmacy in 1884, and from the Toronto Medical College in 1887. He was a keen supporter of Dr. Hardie and an enthusiastic member of the Medical Students' YMCA, and later of the Canadian Colleges Mission.

He was already in practice and also teaching in the Toronto Medical College when, in 1892, Dr. H. G. Underwood visited Toronto in search of a medical man who might bring order out of chaos in the Royal Hospital in Seoul.

Dr. Avison used to tell how it happened. "We were all deeply impressed by Dr. Underwood's appeal. We drew up lists of possible candidates and discussed their qualifications. When, suddenly, with all the force of a divine call, I was confronted with the question: 'Why not you?'"





The result was the decision to offer himself to the Board of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A, for service in Korea - the missionary enthusiasm of those days making it easy for a Methodist to become Presbyterian.

### Avison to Korea

Avison was 33 years old when, with wife and three children, he arrived in Korea, July 13, 1893. His dynamic and masterful personality is described by one of his fellow students: "Tall, fair-haired, bearded and bright-eyed, brimming with enthusiasm and self-confidence, he had the gusto of a young Teddy Rossevelt, and the same flair for leadership. Once his mind was made up no one ever dreamed of attempting to dissuade him."

His first assignment was to prove a test of his wisdom and courage. He was given charge of the Royal Hospital in Seoul. This hospital had been established by the king in 1885 on the advice of Dr. H. N. Allen, who had rendered good service to the royal family. It was the first hospital in Korea and, by royal request, was under missionary supervision. Government control and support, however, inevitably led to misuse of funds and to patronage abuses which resulted in chaotic conditions. When Dr. Avison took charge the government subsidy was insufficient to pay for government appointees. It soon became clear to Avison that nothing short of freedom from government control could justify continued missionary co-operation. His stubborn insistence on this led finally to the transfer of the hospital in 1895 to the Presbyterian Mission, and its re-organization as a mission hospital.

### Gaining Royal Favour and Public Confidence

Dr. Avison's energy and ability found scope for expression in the stirring events of the time and established him securely in the confidence of his mission and of the royal court and general public. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed physician to the king and was frequently called to the palace at all hours of the day or night. After the assassination of the Queen he was one of three missionaries who were asked to keep guard over the king at night.

During the summer of 1895 a cholera epidemic struck fear to the hearts of the king and commoner alike, and the government turned to Avison to organize staff, together with police co-operation in the enforcement of quarantine regulations.

The battle against cholera, and against the ever-prevalent small-pox and measles helped to break down the public prejudice against western medicine. The number of patients increased, and with additions to the medical missionary staff, the scope and efficiency of the service rendered was greatly enlarged. It also made more urgent the need for more adequate hospital accommodation and equipment. This was the burden of Avison's missionary appeal during his furlough of 1899-1900.

### The Founding of Severance Hospital

His own mission approached the matter with caution, owing to the Board's policy of limiting grants for hospital buildings to \$5,000. This



deepened in Avison's mind the conviction that a mission hospital in the capital city should be a united effort of all the missions. He expounded this idea in an address given before the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of May 1900, in New York City.

An immediate response came from an unexpected source. Present at that gathering was a Mr. Louis H. Severance, a rich steel magnate from Cleveland who was so impressed by Avison's appeal that he said to a friend seated next to him: "How would it be if I go down and give that young man money for a hospital?" The first gift was \$10,000, which was trebled within three years to complete the purchase of the site, and the construction and equipment of what was to become one of the finest mission hospitals in the east, known as Severance Hospital. It was completed and opened on September 23, 1904, according to plans prepared by a Toronto architect, Mr. H. B. Gordon.

### Beginning of Severance Medical College

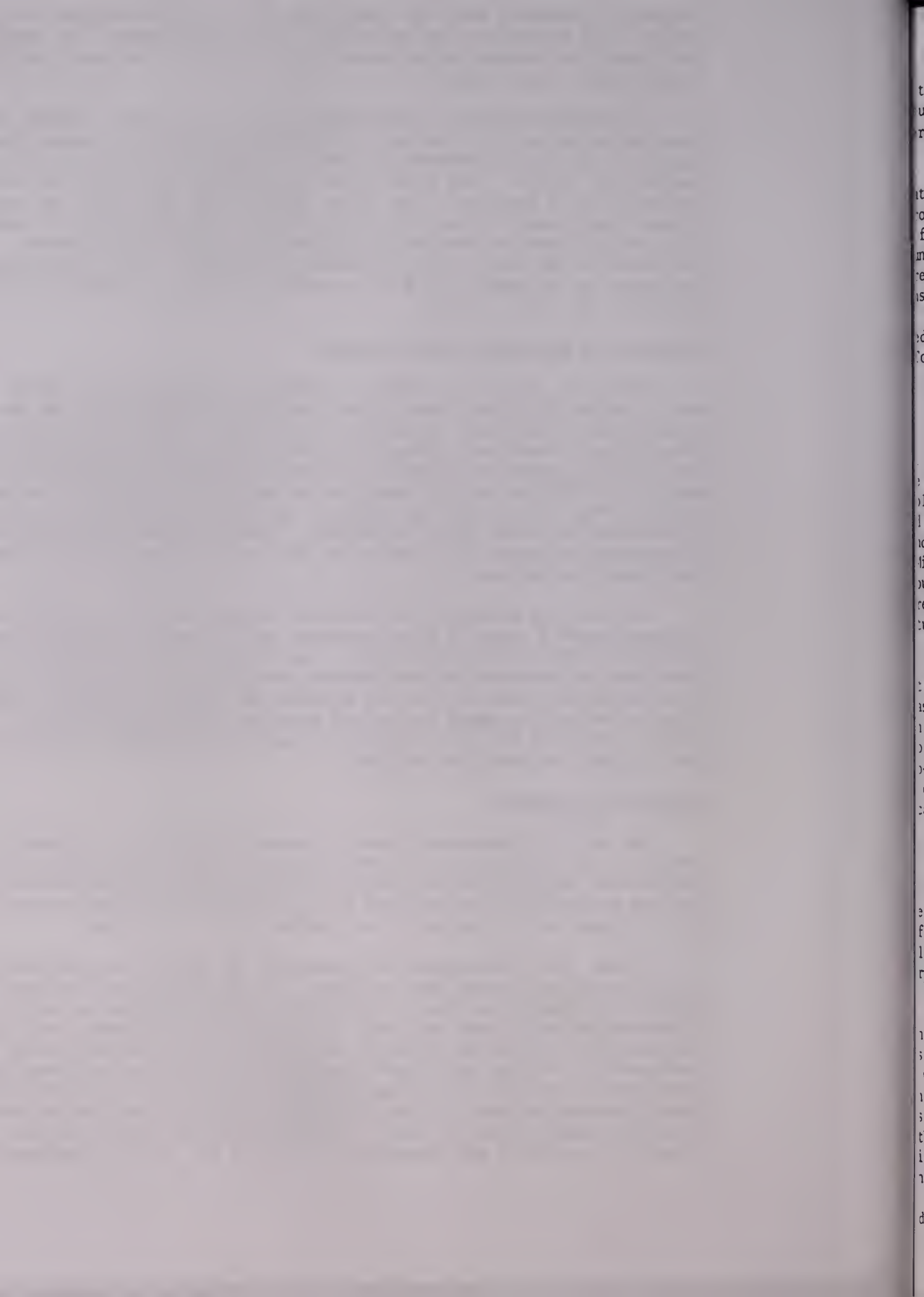
Meanwhile, plans for a Medical College were taking shape in Dr. Avison's mind. During his first term on the field he had made a start on the translation of textbooks on anatomy, physiology, chemistry and pathology. Seven young Koreans were already studying them in their mimeographed form, and receiving practical training in hospital pharmacy, dispensary and wards. In 1905 the medical committee of the Northern Presbyterian Mission reported that "Dr. Avison has prepared curricula for a seven year course in medicine and three years in pharmacy," and recommended that the request of Severance Hospital "to make use of and teach a class of twelve student assistants" be approved.

This was the beginning of Severance Medical College. The first graduates were a group of seven students who had been in training, as assistants, for some fifteen years. They received their diplomas in June 1908, at the hands of the Japanese Resident-General, Prince Ito, in a graduation ceremony that was attended by foreign diplomats, representatives of the royal family and prominent members of the Seoul community. They were the first Koreans to receive a government certificate and a licence to practice medicine.

### Tribute to Dr. Avison

The story of Severance, from its modest beginning as a Presbyterian hospital, in succession to the Royal Hospital, to its achievement of nation-wide and international recognition as Severance Union Medical College and Hospital, is not only a saga of medical missionary enterprise but a tribute to the genius of its founder, Dr. O. R. Avison.

It was his fertile mind that conceived the idea of one efficient Christian Medical Centre for all Korea. It was his patient and persistent effort that finally won the co-operation of other missions in union work. Co-operation having been achieved, it was his wise leadership that held together the specialized staff of able men drawn from differing missionary backgrounds. His was the dynamic and urbane personality that made the necessary contacts with government officials in Korea and denominational constituencies at home, to gain official recognition from the one and financial support from the other. And last, but not least, his was the practical experience and organizing skill that was so often summoned when



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urgent alterations and adjustments were demanded by a rapidly expanding work. In short, for over thirty years, Dr. O. R. Avison was the inspiration and the driving force behind Severance.

#### President of The Chosun Christian College

Dr. Avison's interest and activity were not confined to medical work. He co-sponsored with Dr. H. G. Underwood the plan to found a Union Christian College in the capital city, and when the Chosun Christian College was established in 1915, he was appointed Vice-President. One year later, on the death of Dr. Underwood, he became President and held that position until his retirement in 1934.

During these two decades he supervised the layout of the campus, and the erection of the three main college buildings - Stimson, Underwood and Appenzeller Halls - together with eighteen residences for professors and a dozen residences for other employees.

He piloted the College through its formative years, carrying on negotiations with the government for recognition, and securing and keeping an efficient staff. Throughout it all was the ever-pressing need to maintain a Christian witness during a period when, first the Korean Independence Movement, then an insidious communist propaganda, and finally an all-out Japanese military imperialism were agitating the student body. Severance and the C.C.C. were fortunate in having at the helm a man of such ripe experience and good standing with the government as Dr. O. R. Avison.

Dr. Avison's official retirement is dated 1932, but, on request, he continued in Korea until 1935. One year after his retirement he lost his first wife, but he himself lived to the ripe old age of 96, dying in St. Petersburg, Florida, on August 29, 1956.

#### Honours Received

During his lifetime he received many honours, the latest being the award of The Independence Medal from the Republic of Korea in 1953. His own students showed their affection by erecting in his honour a statue whose inscription reads: (in part)

Oliver R. Avison, Phar.G., M.D., C.M.,  
Born in England, Educated in Canada,  
Medical Missionary to Korea since 1893  
Under the Board of Foreign Missions  
Presbyterian Church in U.S.A., But the servant  
Of all the Missions of the Christian Church,  
President of Severance Union Medical College  
Seoul, Korea.

Dr. Avison probably remembered with greatest satisfaction the farewell address given by his long-time Korean friend, Hon. Yun Chi Ho. "In bidding you farewell," he said, "we are losing a great public benefactor and a great personal friend ... You leave us three great institutions, Severance Hospital, The Medical College, and Chosun Christian College, to perpetuate your memory to the end of time. Your greatest monument, however, will be the never-ending stream of graduates from the College, and the



patients who will be benefited by the healing ministrations of the Hospital."

### Tribute to The Toronto Four

Each one of this group of four Toronto men stressed a particular emphasis that present day missionaries and Korean Christians alike might well consider. Gale was the Christian humanist par excellence who dug deep into Korean history and culture, seeking to conserve and enrich it within the Christian tradition. Fenwick stressed the necessity of using Korean nationals in the evangelization of their people, with a minimum of foreign control and support. Hardie's emphasis was upon utter consecration and dependence upon God's spirit for guidance and power. Avison built his personality into institutions which would endure and perpetuate the Christian ideals he held.

Integration of Korean culture into the Christian tradition; priority of Korean leadership in all Christian work; constant attention to spiritual renewal; and due emphasis on the building of institutions which give scope and permanence to Christian witness - these four factors still stand as necessary points of emphasis in missionary and church effort.

## Chapter 3

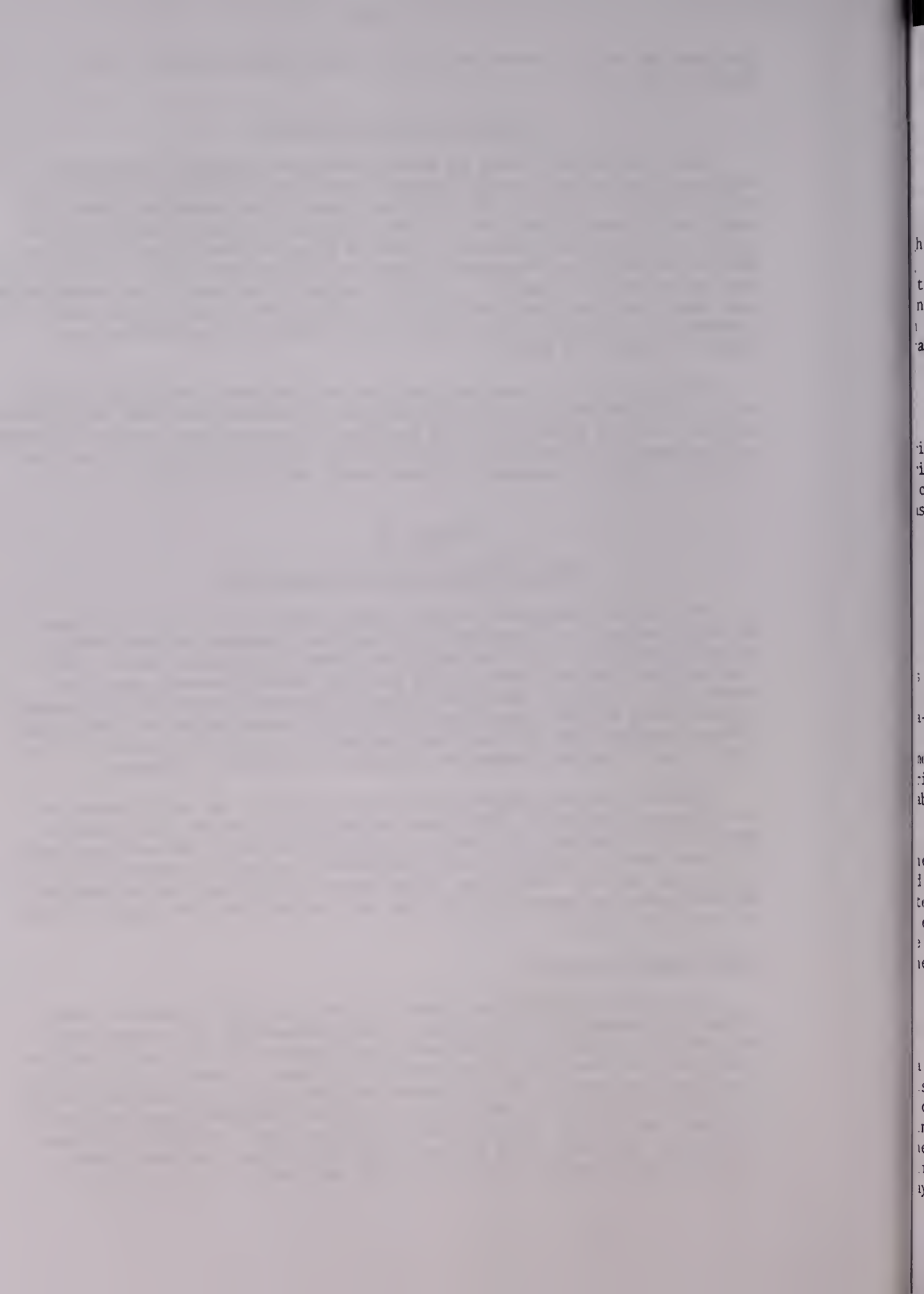
### THE LONE RANGER FROM THE MARITIMES

The Student Volunteer Movement that launched the Toronto Colleges on their venture in Korea drove the Maritime students to missionary effort nearer home. The challenge came from the Labrador coast. Moravian missionaries had come all the way from Germany to work among the people there. Why not Canadian students from the neighbouring Maritimes? In the spring of 1888, the Student Missionary Association of Presbyterian College accepted the challenge and decided to open a mission on the Labrador Coast. The man chosen for the job was William J. McKenzie.

McKenzie was the natural choice for the work. He had attended the World Student Missionary Conference at Northfield in 1887 and returned fired with enthusiasm. He had just graduated in Arts, and had completed his first year in theology. His assignment was for the summer months only but his six months' experience of the poverty and misery of the people of Labrador made him decide to interrupt his college work and continue there for eighteen months.

#### First Thoughts on Korea

By a strange coincidence McKenzie's mind was turned towards Korea during his coastal trip to Labrador. He carried with him several books and pamphlets brought from the Northfield Conference. One was a book on Korea which was destined to determine his future. "Found it full of instruction," he writes, "The Presbyterians have taken the initiative there and translated the Bible into Korean. Jesuits suffered nobly for their religion. Why not go out there and do as Paul did? Get there some way, and grow up into their life by some trade or labour, and also preach. Then stir up the church, if need be, for assistance."





This beginning of concern for and initial commitment to Korea grew with the years into an unshakable conviction of a call from God. During his last year in theology he somehow managed to attend lectures on medicine, in preparation for the day. On graduation he accepted a call from Stewiacke and served that charge acceptably for two years. But his mind was on Korea, and his chief concern was how to get there. He could not expect the Foreign Mission Committee to open a new mission. It was already carrying a heavy commitment in the New Hebrides, Trinidad and Demarara, and was labouring under a \$9,000 debt.

He decided to follow the course envisaged from the beginning. He would go forth in faith, assured that "the Lord will provide." Which, of course, meant as someone said at the time, that those who approved of his course would foot the bill. His vital personality and stubborn persistence brought him into prominence and won support from individuals and groups. The Editor of The Presbyterian Witness, though understandably cautious in his commendation of the venture, nevertheless offered the columns of that paper to the treasurer of McKenzie's supporters. He added, however, the proviso that "it is understood that all contributions are over and above the givings to the ordinary schemes of the church." The treasurer was Mr. James Forrest of Halifax.

In the spring of 1893 McKenzie tendered his resignation from the Stewiacke charge, which was reluctantly accepted by the Presbytery of Halifax, to take effect from May 1. The Witness expressed the thoughts of most of his brethren when it said: "Mr. McKenzie is one of the young men that the church can ill-afford to spare from her home field, but we have, as a church, not hesitated to give up for the heathen our choicest men." His plan was to leave for Korea in October. Meanwhile he accepted temporary charge of the North-West Arm and Goodwill Mission (later called the Bethany charge), and devoted all his spare time to medical studies. He frequented the wards of Victoria General Hospital to gain practical experience, and, according to Dr. Grierson, to meet a nurse whom he hoped, unsuccessfully, to win as his bride.

#### Failure of Efforts to Dissuade Him

Meanwhile all efforts of his fellow-ministers and other friends to woo his affections from Korea failed. The claims of other missions of the church were pressed on him, and failing there it was suggested that, if he must go to Korea, he might offer himself to American missions at work there. As late as September 3, when word came of Dr. McGillivray's serious illness in Honan, the question was asked "if our good friend McKenzie would take into consideration the peculiar claims of Honan as compared with Korea." These appeals fell on deaf ears. Church officials must have been irked by his stubborn insistence (1) that he must go to a country with a temperate climate, and (2) as a representative of the Canadian church.

So fearful was the Foreign Mission Committee (E.D.) that McKenzie's proposal would cut into their regular missionary income, that they invited him to attend their committee meeting of October 2. According to their minutes "the Committee laboured to show him that mission fields, such as Honan, under our own church, in need of men and with a climate as well adapted to his constitution as Corea could be, have a greater claim on his services than Corea, and that in going to them he would not be drawing on the sources of the Committee's funds already pledged to a very wide and growing work." All they accomplished was to "make a statement to synod of Mr. McKenzie's position, so that no apprehension of his relation to the



church may go abroad ."

McKenzie's last appearance in a court of his church was the evening meeting of the Maritime Synod, October 4, 1893, in Truro. He was introduced by Rev. A. Falconer who explained the position of the F.M. Committee, adding "The Committee does not approve of his special enterprise, but they highly appreciate his spirit." McKenzie briefly addressed the synod and went out to continue preparations for his lone venture. On October 26, in that same church in Truro, a large congregation assembled to bid him God-speed and wish him well. The same night he boarded a train for Vancouver, and sailed from that port on November 12. His diary records his feelings: "Stepping on board ship, I did not wish it otherwise, leaving my native continent. It is no sacrifice; would be to stay. Henceforth may Korea be the land of my adoption. May I live and work there many a year for the glory of God, and may my dust mingle with theirs till the great trumpet shall sound, when death shall be swallowed up in life."

### McKenzie Arrives in Korea

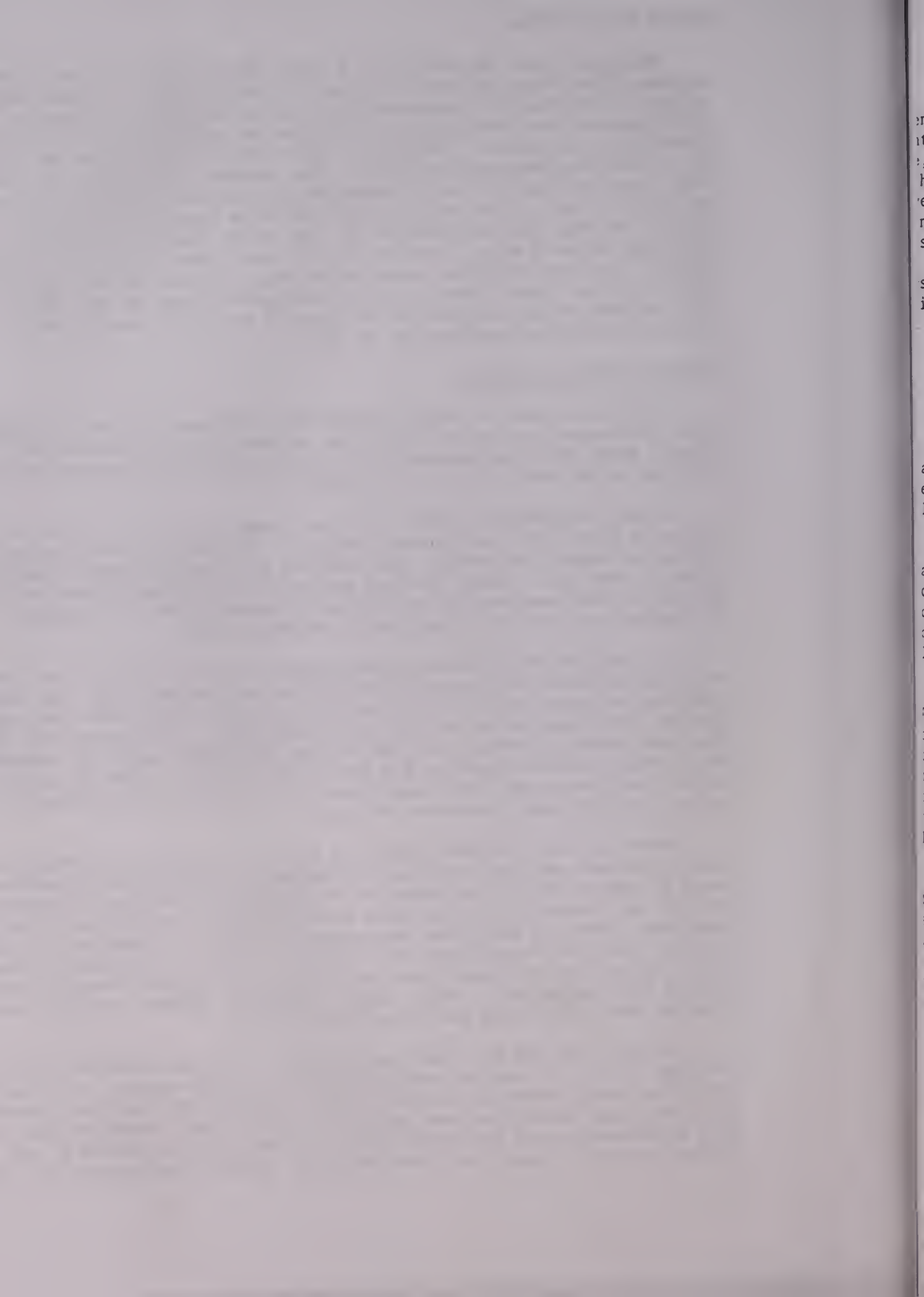
McKenzie arrived in Seoul December 18, 1893, having spent one day in Pusan and several days with Heber Jones in Chemulpo. He readily made friends among the missionaries in Seoul and enjoyed the Christmas celebrations at the home of Dr. O. R. Avison.

He was particularly drawn to another Canadian, Dr. W. J. Hall, a native of Glen Buell, near Athens, Ontario. Dr. Hall began his medical studies at Queen's University, and finished at Bellevue Hospital Medical School in New York. After spending two years in Roosevelt Street Medical mission, he was appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Board as medical missionary to Korea, arriving there in December 1891.

Dr. Hall invited McKenzie to accompany him on his next trip to Pyongyang, the northern city to which his mission had assigned him. The overland trip of seven days gave him his first glimpse of the unsettled conditions that prevailed in the country at that time. One day out from Seoul they came across a Korean traveller who had been badly mauled by robbers and learned that his companion had been killed by them. Life in Pyongyang was no less precarious. The house where Dr. Hall lived was frequently stoned and his servants were constantly molested.

McKenzie found a kindred spirit in Rev. S. A. Moffett, a Presbyterian North missionary who was residing in Pyongyang. It was he who suggested Sorai Village as a suitable place for the newcomer to reside. He arrived in Sorai on February 3, and received a warm welcome from the loyal Christian group there who had become accustomed to having a Canadian in their village. Gale and Fenwick had stayed there. McKenzie found Sorai so much to his liking that he stayed there until April 23, when he travelled to Seoul to send and receive mail. Here, again, he met Mr. Moffett, and they were together when distressing news came from Pyongyang.

On May 4, Dr. and Mrs. Hall, with their little son, Sherwood, left Chemulpo by boat to take up permanent residence in Pyongyang. The appearance of a foreign woman and child in that stronghold of tradition, together with some legal difficulty over property, caused such a commotion that a wave of persecution of Christians broke out, with the connivance of the Korean governor. Appeals to local officials proving ineffective, Dr. Hall



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telegraphed the British and American legations in the capital (Mrs. Hall was an American, the former Dr. Rosetta Sherwood), who took up the matter with the Korean foreign office. Meanwhile, the missionary group in Seoul met for prayer and consultation, and decided to send Mr. Moffett and Mr. McKenzie to Pyengyang as a relief party. They travelled day and night and arrived to find things somewhat quieted and the Korean Christians, who had been imprisoned and tortured, released from jail.

### The Tong-Hak Movement

The next few months were fateful ones in the history of modern Korea. They saw the Tong-Hak uprising in the South which gathered such momentum in its movement northward that the government had to seek Chinese intervention to control it. This finally led to the Sino-Japanese war and the involvement of Japan in Korean political life. A brief reference to this Tong-Hak uprising seems necessary in order to give historical perspective to the last year of McKenzie's life in Korea. We borrow from Dr. George Paik's History of Protestant Missions in Korea.

"The Tong-Hak movement has both a religious and a political significance. As a religious movement it was an expression of the syncretism of the Koreans. It was founded by Choi Chei Woo, a Korean scholar who had come in contact with Catholic missionaries .... During an illness he felt he had a revelation from heaven. There grew upon him a conviction that he was called to found a new religion. For the basis of this he composed the Tong-Hak bible, Sung Kyung Tai Chun or Great Sacred Canon. In making a mosaic of scriptures, he took the five relations from Confucianism, the law of heart-cleansing from Buddhism, and the use of charms and the practice of magic from Animism, and last of all, from Christianity, he introduced monotheism and did away with images, and adopted the Catholic practice of the use of candles in worship. Choi called his deity Chum Chu, the term which the Roman Catholics used for God, and named his new religion the Tong-Hak or Eastern Learning, in contra-distinction to Su-Hak or Western Learning, by which Roman Catholicism was in early days known in Korea. The movement spread widely in the southern provinces until 1865, when a persecution broke out against Roman Catholics, and Choi was executed on the charge that he was an adherent of that faith."

"When, in 1894 it showed fresh energy, it was distinctly as a political uprising ... It was the 'corruption and oppression of the officials that they were determined to resist unto death.' ... The religious teachings, the practice of magic and the program of political reform against the corruption of officialdom attracted a large number of followers in the southern provinces ... Soon after raising their standard the army of the Tong-Haks pushed towards the capital. The government forces were unable to check them in their onward sweep. At last the helpless court turned to China for assistance, requesting her to send troops to suppress the rebellion. China complied by sending a force of 1600 men and two warships ... The Japanese were alert and observant, and, while the Chinese were still in the southern provinces, despatched a division of soldiers directly to the capital. Thus began the Sino-Japanese war."

McKenzie returned from Pyengyang to Seoul on June 3. With the rumour of war in the air, he went down to Chemulpo "to find several warships in



the harbour - French, Chinese, Japanese, British and American." For the next four months there was too much happening in the capital and its seaport to take him farther afield. Most of the time was spent in Chemulpo, living with Heber Jones, and working among British and American seamen from the warships, as well as among Koreans.

### Residence in Sorai

The dangers of these unsettled times turned his thoughts again to the little village of Sorai. In September Mr. Soh, the leader of the Christian group there sought him out in Chemulpo and pleaded with him to return to Sorai. By this time, too, his meager resources of \$900 in May had dwindled to \$270 in September. He rejected an offer of financial support from Mr. Fenwick, of the Korean Itinerant Mission, and preferred to return to Sorai to take up residence there. He left Chemulpo on September 27 and arrived in Sorai on October 10. From the date until his death in June 1895, Sorai was his home.

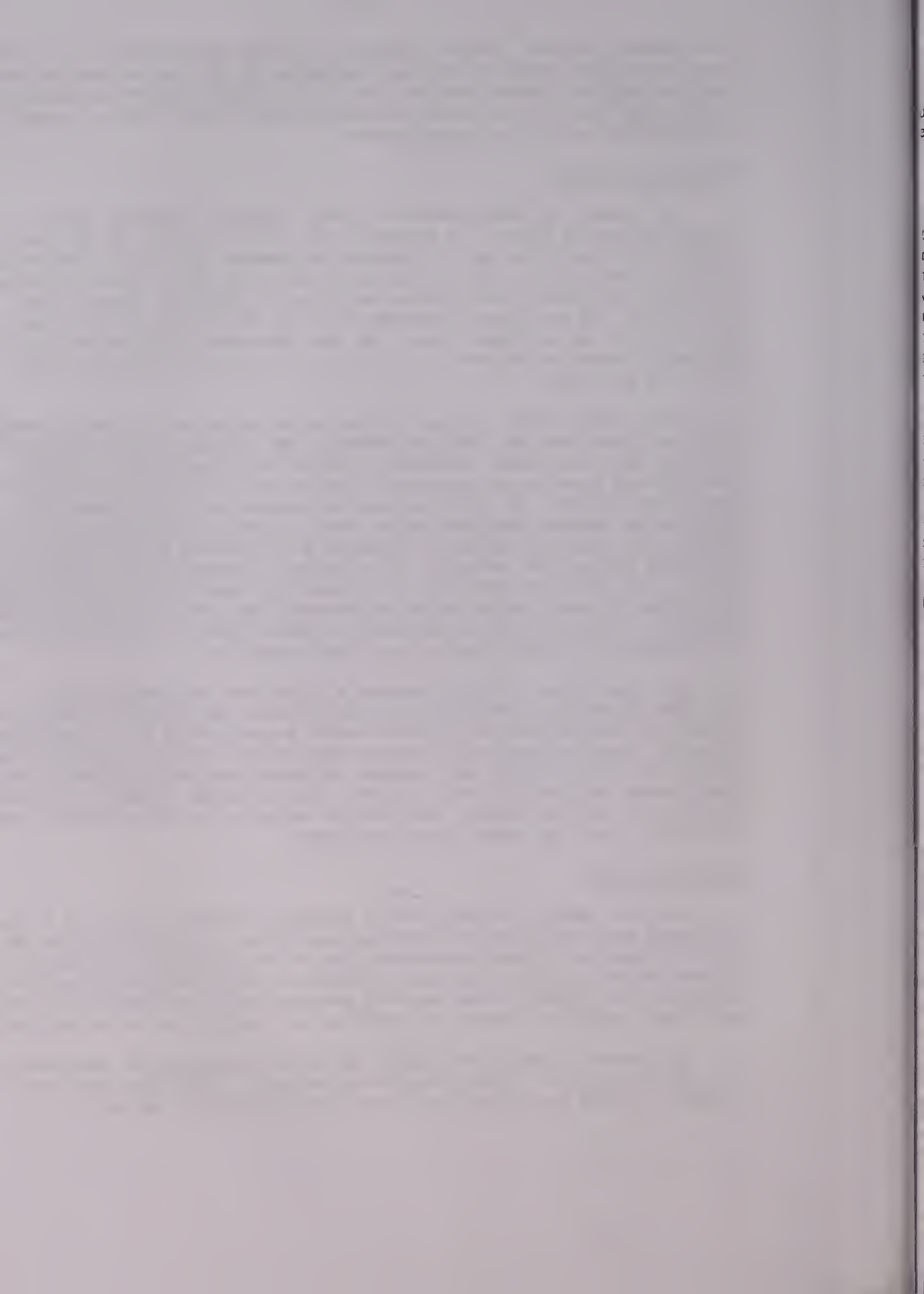
During these eight months he lived in the midst of war and violence. Japanese troops were on their way north to meet Chinese forces from Manchuria. In their wake came bands of Tong-Hak rebels, who lived off the country and gathered recruits as they went. The strain was terrific but McKenzie was in his element. He stood between the people and their tormentors, Japanese and Korean Tong-Haks alike, and won general respect as their protector. He conceived the idea of making a distinctive flag to denote a Christian village and wrote Mr. S. A. Moffett, describing its first appearance: "All joined in erecting a pole near the house I live in to unfurl the banner of Jesus, white, with St. George's red cross. As it was unfurled joined in singing 'All hail the power of Jesus' name.' All were glad to have the banner of peace waving over the village."

The same letter tells of hunting a tiger that had carried off a dog from the village. He failed in this attempt but said he intended yet to get his skin because he "hoped to build a church with it." The Christian group in Sorai had grown too large to continue worshipping in private homes. During the winter months they planned the church and decided that no foreign money should go into its construction. Work was begun in March, as soon as the snow was off the ground, and McKenzie attended the first service held in it, June 9, just two weeks before his death.

### His Last Letter

His last letter, written shortly before his death, shows that he was concerned about political and economic conditions. He refers to the "blighting" influence of Chinese suzerainty, and to the "ignorance and greed" of Korean officials. He speaks of his Christian group "so filled with the assurance that God rules and that His purpose will be accomplished in the end" that, while "all around is confusion and anxiety, we are rejoicing."

He preached a rugged religious commitment, requiring of his converts only that they live "a godly, righteous and sober life," but that, as a witness to their new allegiance, they strictly keep the Sabbath.





His efforts aided by the troubles of the time, proved remarkably successful. When he came to Sorai there were only two baptized adults and one child, but now "from 70 to 100 meet every Sunday and Wednesday night." "About twenty families now observe the Lord's Day, most of whom have family prayers, and all ask blessing at meals."

He tells of starting a Christian school, and since the Koreans have assumed responsibility for building the church, he promises to pay the annual salary of the teacher out of his own pocket, the sum of \$17.

The letter states that he had now been eight months in Sorai, "without speaking a word in English or seeing a white face," and adds that "during that time I have not been a day sick."

This last reference may only reflect his stubborn resolve "not to give in to sickness but to keep on the move." His diary reveals that he had frequent bouts with malaria, and refers to sunstrokes and vomiting spells. It is evident that his rugged physique was gradually worn down by the terrific strain of the times, by inadequate diet, and by his refusal to allow symptoms of sickness to slow him down.

### Delirium and Death

The end came suddenly and unexpectedly. He had attended church the previous Sunday when he should have been in bed. Through the following week he was in constant fever, with vomiting and increasing pain and weakness. It is likely that his mind was temporarily affected, for he died tragically, by his own hand, on Sunday, June 24, just one week from the time set for the dedication of the little church he had worked so hard to build.

Dr. J. Hunter Wells, who accompanied Dr. Underwood to Sorai to investigate McKenzie's death, wrote: "Arriving in Sorai July 4, we were received by the stricken community most kindly and cordially. They could not understand, as neither can we, how such an end should come to one they loved so well. They only knew that a man had come and laboured among them and had laid down his life for them. They realized the great sacrifice, and many who were not certain before of their belief in the Christian religion came out positively."

### Appreciation of McKenzie

William John McKenzie has won a respected place in the history of missions in Canada and Korea. He will long be remembered for his own personal qualities, for his utter dedication to Korea, and for the part he played in the founding of the Korea Mission of our church.

He possessed the qualities of the true pioneer - impatient of the humdrum, defiant of the status quo, strongly opinionated and stubbornly persistent - a constant exasperation to the cautious conformist, but without whom history would be dull and unchallenging. One who knew him best in Korea wrote of "his genial countenance, jolly laugh, great good humour and hearty goodwill," as well as "his conscientiousness, courage and shrewd common sense."



His dedication to Korea and its evangelization was evident to all. He stands pre-eminent, among many of the ablest and most consecrated of missionaries, in his effort to integrate his life with that of a Korean community, identifying himself with them, living as they did, suffering with and for them in days of exceptional stress and danger - all in the name of Christ.

The influence of his life and death on the founding of the Korea Mission of our church remains to be told. Suffice it here to say that he exemplifies the Master's word that "the corn of wheat" that falls into the ground and dies brings forth much fruit.

## Chapter 4

### BIRTH-THROES OF A MISSION

Few issues have so profoundly stirred the church in the Maritime provinces as the proposal to undertake a mission in Korea. McKenzie's lone venture had won no more than individual support of a zealous and personable young man who felt a call to go to Korea as an independent missionary. Two years later, his life and death in Korea became a clarion call to the whole church to continue the work he had begun. The issue called forth spirited debate that spread over three years and made Korea a household word and foreign missions a burning issue in the Presbyterian Church in the Maritimes. The story is worth telling in detail.

Among the Commissioners to the General Assembly of June 1895 was Rev. Robert Murray, of Halifax. As Editor of the Presbyterian Witness, he held in his hand a letter recently received from Mr. McKenzie which he had printed in his paper under the heading: "Good News From Korea." He was so impressed by this letter that he rose in the Assembly and spoke enthusiastically about McKenzie's work. The final outcome was unanimous approval of a motion "that the proposal to engage in mission work in Korea be referred for consideration to the Foreign Mission Committee, Eastern Division, to report to next Assembly." Thus did Korea appear for the first time in the Minutes of the General Assembly.

#### News of McKenzie's Death

At the very time that this decision was being made McKenzie lay dying in Korea. News of his death did not reach Halifax till August, and came as a shock to his many friends and supporters. Mr. Murray published the news and wrote a warm tribute to McKenzie, adding the words: "had he been spared we are sure our church would gladly have followed him with all the aid she could give in men and income." In a later issue he expressed his earnest hope "that some suitable man will soon - very soon - the sooner the better - step to the front to occupy the post where McKenzie has fallen."

This sense of urgency was somehow dampened, for the matter was not raised again until the next spring. It is quite probable that the Foreign Mission Committee, burdened by a heavy debt in carrying the missions already



under their care, persuaded the editor not to press the matter of Korea. They themselves did not take up the remit from General Assembly regarding Korea until April 28. Nor did they make public the touching appeal they received from the Christian group at Sorai, among whom McKenzie had lived and died.

At the April meeting of the F.M. Committee, the Secretary reported that there were available \$2,000 of Mr. McKenzie's estate "for work in Korea" and a promise, from a friend of the mission, of \$1,000 per year for three years. Despite this the Committee voted negatively. "After prolonged consideration," reads the minute, "it was determined that this committee are not in a position to take up the work in Korea; but agree to report all the circumstances to the Assembly, so that if the Western Division of the Committee can see its way clear to assume the work, the funds will be handed over to them."

It was also decided to request the friend who had offered \$1,000 yearly to transfer his generous gift to the work in Demerara, a request to which the donor agreed, as reported at a later meeting.

The matter was duly reported to the General Assembly in June, and the following decision recorded: "That the General Assembly approve of the action of the F.M.C. (E.D.) in declining, in the meantime, to enter upon work in Korea, and authorizes that Committee to expend the money available from Mr. McKenzie's estate as they may deem best, in accordance with the terms of his will."

These decisions discouraged further discussion for several months. The Witness wrote "it seems certain that nothing further will be done in this direction." Later it explained: "The death of Mr. McKenzie has changed the situation ... It would not do for us to send one missionary, and we are not in a position to send two." It added, however, "happily there is a fairly strong Presbyterian Mission in Korea, sent by our brethren in the U.S.A."

#### The Question Re-opened

The friends of Korea were not easily discouraged. A movement was gaining momentum in the divinity hall and in the churches that led to the birth of the Korea Mission. In November, after the F.M.C.'s report to the General Assembly became known in full, a long article appeared in the Pine Hill magazine "The Theologue", making an eloquent plea for a mission in Korea. Signed by "Student", the article was written by Mr. A. F. Robb, who later became one of the most able and respected missionaries to Korea.

The article quoted at length from the F.M. Committee report, referring particularly to Mr. McKenzie's life and death, and his legacy of \$2,000 for missionary work in Korea. It referred to the unparalleled opportunity which Korea offered at the time and ended by insisting that the church in the Maritimes had both the men and the money required, as well as a special interest in Korea that would not be denied. It also quoted in full the letter from the Korean Christian group in Sorai, as follows:

#### The Letter From Sorai, Korea

"We are presuming to write this letter to you who are the friends and brother ministers and brethren of Rev. Mr. McKenzie, and we trust you will



condescend to read it and give it your prayerful attention.

"After Mr. McKenzie arrived in Korea he came down to the village of Sorai, in the magistracy of Chang-Yun, in the province of Hwang-Hai-Do, and worked hard about his Father's business, leading many to come out and take their stand for the Lord.

"The village of Sorai was always a very wicked place, devoid of blessing. Now there are many who are trying to follow the example of Mr. McKenzie. He is no longer with us and we, in prayer, want to know God's will. We, now waiting before God in prayer, hope that you, our elder brothers in Canada, will pray much too and send us out a Christian teacher.

"In the name of the Korean Christians of Sorai,

Signed: So Kyung Jo

Sorai, Chang-Yun, Hwang-Hai-Do,  
Korea, December 26, 1895."

Sparked by this appeal, interest in Korea spread throughout the church and broke into print in every issue of the Witness. "No one will deny," writes 'Presbyterian', "that Korea is the centre of interest to many of our people - so much so that several students have volunteered for service there - or that Korea is in such a condition that missionary work will tell tenfold now what it will if the present opportunity is allowed to pass." Opposing opinion stressed that "Our First Claim" was support of our existing missions, and suggested (1) that the two students now offering for Korea go out under an American Board, and (2) that the McKenzie bequest be handed over with them.

#### Deputation from The W.F.M.S.

A crucial stage was reached when, on February 23, 1897, the F.M. Committee, at its regular meeting, received a deputation from the Executive of the W.F.M.S., who presented a strong case for the opening of work in Korea. The full text of their statement was published in the Witness, the gist of which follows:

- (1) The Korea mission lies close to the heart of our people in a remarkable way.
- (2) The F.M.C. has the McKenzie bequest: "Is the church justified in handing over this fund and the two volunteers to others?"
- (3) Funds which have hitherto gone independently to Korea and elsewhere will come in and swell the F.M.C. budget.
- (4) Korea is a temperate zone and will appeal to candidates who might hesitate to go to the hot climate of other fields.





- (5) The opportunity in Korea at present is unique. We must not let it slip.
- (6) We pledge the wholehearted support of the W.F.M.S., and have the promise of support from the C.E. Societies. "All our societies have already demonstrated their faith by their works."
- (7) Interest stimulated by a new mission in Korea will increase funds even for existing missions. "Shall the historic Presbyterian Church of which we are so proud, the church which 50 years ago, in face of apparent difficulties, a hundred times greater, sent out Dr. Geddie, show a lack of faith in her people today?"
- (8) Whatever we may have thought of McKenzie going independently as he did, no one will deny that God richly blessed his labours. "He was only 14 (really 18) short months in the country... but his success was phenomenal. No other mission in our history can show such results for the time and money spent."

#### Remit to Presbyteries

The F.M. Committee were so impressed by this masterly submission of the women that they decided "to present a statement to Presbyteries, embodying the views of the W.F.M.S., and also our present obligations to the fields in which we are now working, and to request Presbyteries to give their views of the duty of the church in regard to mission work in Korea, the answers to be returned to the Committee before the middle of May, so as to enable the Committee to report a finding on the subject to the General Assembly."

It is no exaggeration to say that, for the next three months, the subject uppermost in the minds of Maritime Presbyterians was the Korea mission - to be or not to be. Arguments for and against were given with intelligence and remarkable restraint, considering the emotional factors involved. On March 13, on the demand of a correspondent, the letter from McKenzie's converts in Korea, appeared for the first time in The Presbyterian Witness. Two weeks later Dr. N. McKay of Chatham, N.B., wrote: "I have read with profound interest the cry from Korea, the memorial of the W.F.M.S., and the several communications referring to the matter," ending with the words "I would blush to own allegiance to a church that would think of turning a deaf ear to this Korean cry."

The argument that the tragic and untimely death of McKenzie might be interpreted as proof that Providence disapproved of his venture, brought the heated retort of one of his fellow-students: "McKenzie dead in Korea means far more to me than McKenzie alive in Stewiacke." While another maintained that "the field has been pre-empted for us by the heroic life and martyr death of our brother and fellow countryman."

The opposition rang the changes on the F.M. Committee's debt, the fear that a Korea mission would reduce support for existing missions, and



the fact that Korea was already served by strong American Boards. Their cause was hardly benefited by a letter from Dr. Ephraim Scott, a former Maritimer, now resident in Montreal. He branded the whole agitation as unhealthy, scorned the promise of support with the words "figures in fog loom large," and expressed the inept opinion that McKenzie had set so high an idea of a Canadian in Korea that no one following him could possibly live up to it.

Dr. Scott's letter brought a spirited and able reply from "One of the Women". She dealt with the various points in an effective manner and made it plain that we had a right to expect better things from one whose business, as Editor of The Presbyterian Record, was to stimulate rather than to discourage missionary enthusiasm.

It is interesting to note that the two volunteers for Korea were so determined to get there that they were already in correspondence with American missionaries on the field. We have the reply of Rev. S. A. Moffett to Mr. W. R. Foote, encouraging him to come to Korea and stating: "This year we asked the Board for a minister and a doctor to occupy Songdo, a large city sixty miles north of Seoul, and I am sure that it will be the hope of our mission that you and Dr. Grierson will see your way clear to settle in this city."

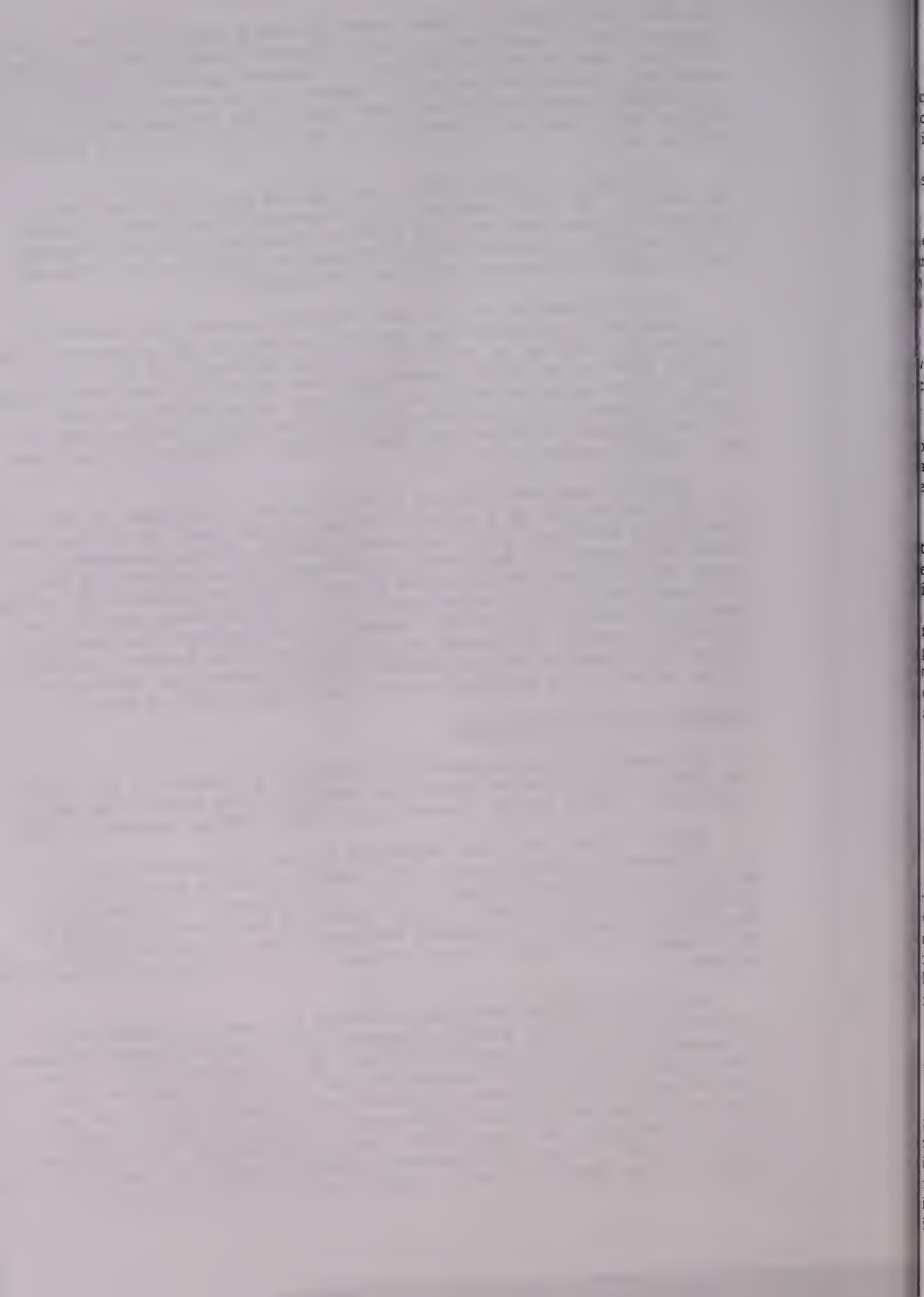
The F.M. Committee, meeting in Truro on May 25, reported on the vote by presbyteries on the issue. Returns showed that, of the ten presbyteries in the synod, six voted unconditionally to open the mission, three were sympathetic but asked that the question be referred to the synod, and only one, Prince Edward Island - "the birthplace of our foreign missionary enterprise" - voted against it. Still cautious and eager to have a responsible court of the church make the decision, the Committee decided to "request the General Assembly to refer the further discussion of the whole question to the Maritime Synod and empower it to finally accept or reject the proposal to enter upon mission work in Korea."

#### Meeting of The Maritime Synod

The General Assembly granted the Committee's request and the subject was finally brought before the regular meeting of the Synod which convened in St. John's Church, Moncton, on Tuesday evening, October 5, 1897.

Debate on the Korea issue began the following afternoon, when Rev. Alexander Falconer, for the F.M. Committee, made a brief report on the present situation in regard to it. He concluded his statement by reading a resolution of the W.F.M.S., passed at their recent meeting in New Glasgow, promising "to support one missionary in Korea should the Synod resolve to establish a mission there." This action was received with applause.

Rev. Alfred Gandier then rose and moved in favour of establishing a Korea mission. He spoke briefly, reiterating the now well-known arguments in favour of it, but stressed particularly the following facts: (1) we already have a policy not to extend our work in the New Hebrides; (2) this leaves Trinidad and Demerara, which work we must support more generously; (3) but we also need a mission of a different type to give diversity of interest; (4) Korea offers such a field and her doors are open in unparalleled degree; (5) moreover, Korea has caught the imagination and interest of our people to such a degree that we dare not ignore it.



An amendment to the effect that our present obligations were too great a tax to permit us to undertake a mission in Korea was moved by Rev. James Maclean, of Truro Presbytery.

Thus was launched a debate that continued through nine tense hours, broken only briefly by certain orders of the day. The opponents of the mission stressed the F.M.C. debt, pleaded for reason and calm judgment, deprecated the action of the W.F.M.S. in going direct to the F.M.C. on an issue that should have been dealt with by overture (Sedgwick), and favoured concentration rather than diversification (Falconer).

Those in favour of the mission promised continued and greater support for existing missions, but pleaded that the church do not fail to answer this divine call to go forward. "I would not like to leave this church today," said Dr. J. McG. McKay, "with my hand raised against a mission in Korea." Mr. A. Stirling, one of the few commissioners from P.E.I. to favour the mission, added action to words when he said: "I promise you \$100 today and \$500 more some other day." This prompted Judge Forbes to rise and say: "That was the best speech of the day," following with a strong appeal to harness the newly awakened missionary enthusiasm to a new task.

#### Summing Up By Rev. Alfred Gandier

Late in the afternoon of the third day of the Synod, the chairman called on Rev. Alfred Gandier to wind up the debate. He did so in a masterly and impressive address. He spoke forcefully but persuasively, the tenor of his address being: "We will not neglect Demerara or the other missions. There are thousands of dollars that will be given to Korea that would not be given to these other fields alone. There are difficulties but what forward movement has ever been started without difficulties to face? In Korea the fields are white to the harvest. Korea today is in the position Japan was in a few years ago. We ought eagerly to step in and do our share to save some at least from the materialistic reaction and atheism that have fallen on Japan. It is because of too great caution and timidity on the part of the churches that enterprises such as The China Inland Mission and The Christian Alliance are called into being."

#### Vote In Favour of Korea Mission

The amendment opposing the mission was defeated by a vote of 111 to 25. The motion in favour of opening a Korea mission was then carried with only two or three venturing to say "nay". The chairman announced the result and the usually staid and stolid Presbyterian Synod gave vent to the pent-up emotions of the past two days with prolonged applause. When this subsided Mr. T. F. Fullerton, who had voted in the negative, rose to propose that the action of the Synod be made unanimous, stating that he, at least, would now and henceforth do all in his power to make the Korea Mission a success. This was received by loud applause, and



was followed by similar statements by Falconer and Sedgwick.

The chairman of the Synod then called on Dr. Daniel Gordon to lead in prayer, and, as one member late reported, "as he rose to address the throne of grace the excitement subsided and you could have heard a pin fall."

So ended this historic session of the Maritime Synod that brought the Korea Mission of our church into being, October 7, 1897. It was a memorable meeting, worthy to be compared with the meetings of church councils that brighten the pages of early church history. The discussions throughout were worthy of the occasion. There was marked diversity of opinion and a great deal of excitement, but no personal animosities engendered. As someone wrote at the time: "It was an impressive sight when more than one venerable father who had borne the burden and heat of the day rose to speak words of encouragement and to urge the Synod to go forward." For all who attended, this meeting of Synod was long to be remembered as one of the richest experiences of their lives.

#### First Missionaries Appointed

The F.M. Committee lost no time in acting on the mandate thus received from the Synod. They advertised for two men to proceed to Korea the following May. They also communicated with American Boards, and on their advice with missionaries on the field, to obtain advice regarding mission policy and location of work. At their February 15 meeting the applications of Dr. Robert Grierson and Mr. William Rufus Foote were received and their appointments made. The unfolding drama seemed to have reached its climax. One act remained to make it complete.

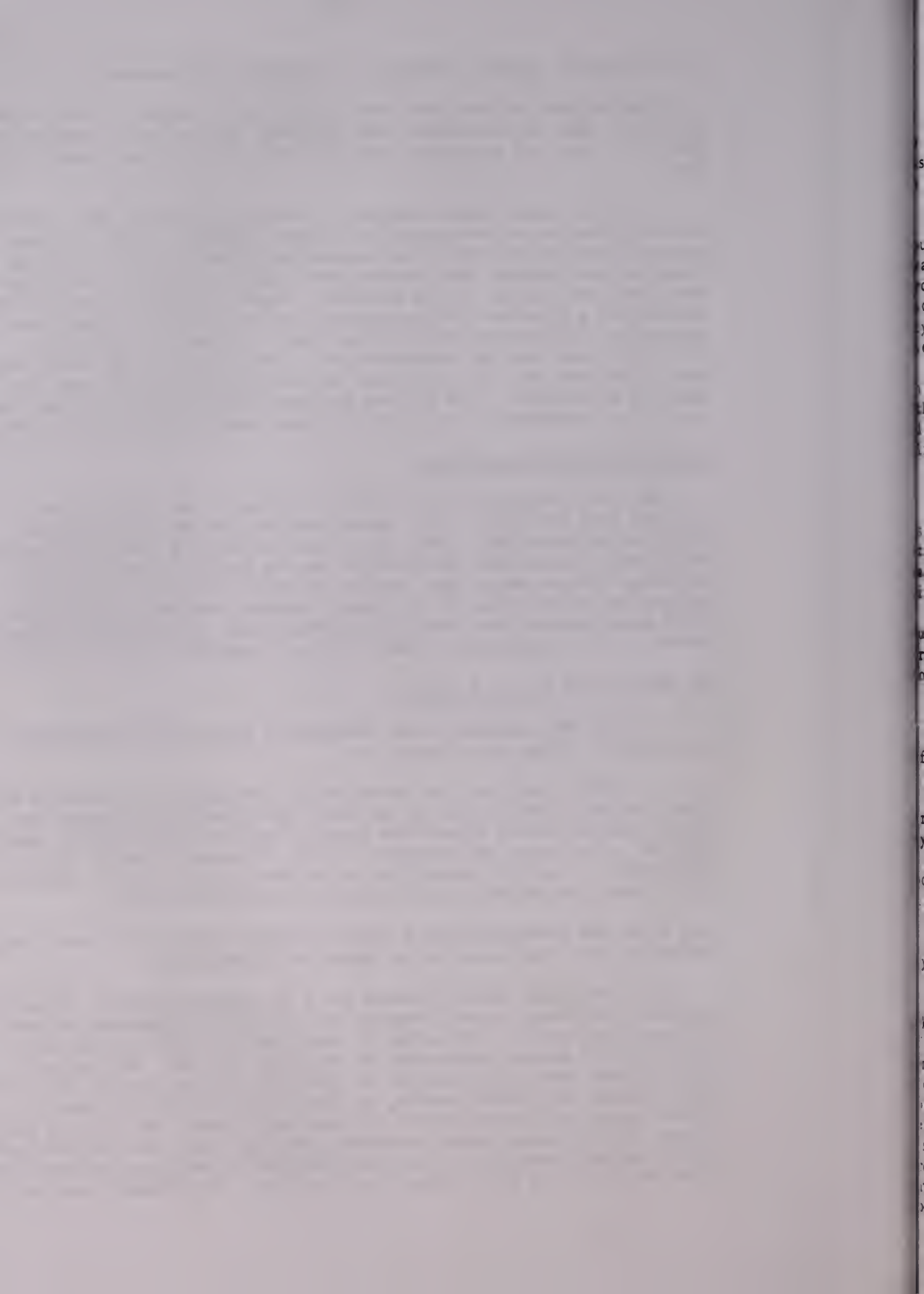
#### The Addition of Mr. D. M. McRae

At this same meeting of the Committee a letter was received from Mr. Duncan M. McRae, which read:

"I hereby offer the F.M. Committee my services as a missionary in Korea, and all I ask of you is the privilege of being sent under your board, together with a ticket for Korea; with this understanding, that my offer is in no way to interfere with Mr. Grierson's and Mr. Foote's appointment. I ask no salary; for my support I shall look to God that He will open the hearts of my classmates and fellow students.

This offer was accompanied by a letter from The Student Missionary Association pledging the salary of Mr. McRae for three years.

This offer must have presented the F.M. Committee with an awkward dilemma. To accept it would require an additional expenditure of \$450 for travel and outfit. To refuse it would rob the Student Missionary Association of direct involvement in the Korea mission. The action finally taken came on a motion by Mr. Gandier. It was decided to postpone decision until their meeting in April, but meanwhile to make a special appeal to the church for the necessary funds. Mr. McRae's popularity and dedication soon guaranteed that the funds would be provided and at the April meeting of the F.M. Committee he was duly appointed the third member of the first group to go to Korea. The Student Association





was asked to make the salary, from the outset, as near as possible to the \$800 minimum for an unmarried man as set by the Committee.

The months of May and June were spent by Foote and McRae travelling the churches on behalf of the mission, while Dr. Grierson continued post-graduate medical studies in New York. Meanwhile, two of them succeeded in securing life partners. They were together at a special designation service on July 18, held, fittingly, in First Church, Truro, from which McKenzie had ventured forth five years before. This was followed by farewell gatherings in Halifax and St. John before they set out from the Maritimes on July 20, 1898. The pioneer missionaries of the Korean Mission were on their way - Grierson, Foote and McRae, two of them accompanied by their wives, Mrs. Grierson and Mrs. Foote.

## Chapter 5

### THE PIONEERS OF OUR KOREA MISSION

"Have the elder races halted?  
Do they drop and end their lesson, wearied  
Over there beyond the seas?  
We take up the task eternal,  
And the burden and the lesson,  
Pioneers, O Pioneers!"

There is always something fascinating about pioneers. We want to know what sort of people they were, where they were going, how they got there, what their purpose was, where and how they settled and began their work with what results.

These and other questions about the pioneers of our Korea Mission can be answered with reasonable certainty by reference to their detailed reports, supplemented by more intimate glimpses from their diaries.

#### The Journey to Korea

The group of three men and two wives left the Maritimes on a Wednesday night, and since their principles forbade Sunday travel they spent the following Lord's Day in Winnipeg before resuming their rail journey to Vancouver. A few days respite before boarding the Empress of India on August first gave the ladies a welcome opportunity for last minute shopping, the husbands tagging along. Mr. McRae, unencumbered by a wife, went on to Vancouver Island and joined the boat at Victoria.

The Pacific crossing was uneventful but revealed, on the part of Mr. Foote, a tendency to solitary aloofness, in contrast with the close lively companionship that sprang up between Dr. Grierson and Mr. McRae.



They reached Yokohama on August 14 and spent the next ten days waiting for a steamer to Korea. The delay gave them time to shop for supplies and get their first introduction to the Orient. It is interesting to note that they travelled without passports, and without vaccinations. This latter requirement was performed on all by Dr. Grierson in Yokohama.

On the 24th they boarded the Kobe Maru which, with its English Captain, proved so comfortable that instead of transshipping, as they had planned, at Kobe, they continued to Nagasaki where they took the Higo Maru for Korea. Here they were joined by Mr. Alexander Kenmure of the Bible Society in Seoul, a Mr. Chapman from England on his way to Cheefoo, and an American, Mr. Wilson by name, "a quiet dignified gentleman who read his Bible and other ecclesiastical books, and smoked cigars, but otherwise remained incognito." Whereby, writes Dr. Grierson, hangs a tale.

On the way to Chemulpo Kenmure and Chapman were playing chess, with Dr. Grierson and Mr. Wilson looking on. Chapman expressed annoyance because the bishops looked so much like the pawns, whereupon Dr. Grierson remarked that "bishops are only common folk after all." Later, Kenmure was held in check by his opponent's bishop which brought forth the disdainful remark that he had always considered bishops a nuisance anyway. It was only on their arrival in Korea that they learned that their fellow traveller was Bishop Wilson of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on a visit to the Methodist mission in Korea.

#### Arrival in Korea

The party arrived in Chemulpo September 7, 1898, and Dr. Grierson records that before disembarking he and his wife held morning devotions. They read Genesis 29, the first verse of which runs: "Then Jacob went on his journey into the land of the people of the East." Which led the doctor to add: "May God grant that we may be able to gather sheep to the Master's fold as well as Jacob did, even though they be ringstraked and spotted."

They were welcomed to Korea by their fellow-Canadian, Dr. O. R. Avison who happened to be at the port to see his son Lawrence off to school in Cheefoo.

They spent a sleepless night in a Korean inn before boarding, at 3 a.m., the Han River boat for Seoul. After a crowded but interesting trip, lasting until noon, they arrived at the port of Seoul to be welcomed by Dr. H. G. Underwood, who, together with Dr. Avison and Mr. Kenmure, decided on their temporary accommodation. Mr. McRae accompanied Mr. Kenmure to Seoul, while the Griersons and Footes continued six miles upstream to the summer cottages of the Underwoods and the Millers.

All went to church in Seoul on Sunday; Dr. Grierson preaching his first sermon in Korea, in the Chungdong church, with Dr. Underwood interpreting.

#### Organization of the Mission

Our little group were Presbyterians, with a passion for orderly procedure. It is therefore no surprise to learn that within two weeks of their arrival in Korea, on September 22, the three men met in Seoul



and formally constituted themselves a Mission Council, with Mr. Foote as chairman, Mr. McRae as treasurer, and Dr. Grierson as secretary. The women were as yet "only wives", and therefore neither present nor consulted.

The first question to be decided was a permanent location and field of labour. This necessitated consultation with missions already at work. Dr. Grierson, typically, had already promised to accompany Dr. Underwood on a ten-day itinerating trip, so the two other men were delegated to contact other missionaries for suggestions. They learned that the Presbyterian Council, an organization composed of all male Presbyterian missionaries, was due to meet late in October, and that decision regarding location of the Canadian mission could be expected then.

Meanwhile a letter arrived from Sorai - the village where McKenzie had lived and died - inviting the Canadians to locate there. Foote and McRae made a hurried visit to Sorai to investigate for themselves. It took them two weeks to make the return trip, spending only one night in Sorai village. It was evident to them that this was not a suitable place for a mission centre. It was only a small village and the work there was now under the capable supervision of the Northern Presbyterian Mission.

They arrived back in Seoul in time for the meeting of the Presbyterian Council. Dr. Grierson's diary has an interesting description of Mr. McRae's arrival. "In the evening, after worship, a familiar foot-step was heard outside and to our great surprise and delight Duncan burst in upon us. He had just come from Seoul, lantern in hand, he and Foote having walked all the way from Songdo since morning. Tired, hungry, dirty and unshaven, but as exuberantly jolly as ever. We heated a great tub of water for his bath, gave him a bowl of ginger tea and listened for an hour to his tale of adventure on his trip."

#### Decision on Location

The Presbyterian Council, at its meeting in October, received the Canadian Mission into membership, thus extending its jurisdiction to four Presbyterian missions: Presbyterian, USA (1885), Australian (1889), Presbyterian U.S. (1892), and Canadian (1898). The Council suggested two districts for consideration, Pusan and Wonsan, the Northern Presbyterian Mission graciously offering to withdraw from these districts in our favour if we would accept responsibility for them. Wonsan had the particular attraction of having had Canadians at work there for several years in the persons of Gale, Fenwick and Hardie.

After careful consideration the mission finally decided in favour of Wonsan. Their decision was approved by the Northern Presbyterian Mission and ratified by the Presbyterian Council. The final decision was made on November 4, and it is typical of Mr. Foote that he immediately acted on it and left Seoul, arriving in Wonsan November 12, the first of the pioneer group to take up residence in the newly acquired mission field.



Dr. Grierson and Mr. McRae delayed their departure from Seoul in the hope that a five-week itinerary with Dr. Underwood would provide valuable experience, and incidentally give the Griersons an opportunity of visiting Sorai village. The visit to Sorai, lasting five days, was the highlight of the trip. Sunday was a memorable day. Dr. Underwood preached in the morning, McRae in the afternoon and Grierson in the evening. "Duncan gave rein to his highland oratory," writes Dr. Grierson, "so that Dr. Underwood could not keep up with him (translating). At one point, after a long flight, Duncan turned to him and said, 'You'll have to boil that down'." At the evening service Dr. Grierson reviewed the story of McKenzie's life and death, and told how it had led to the founding of the Korean Mission of our church. The day ended with the singing of McKenzie's favourite hymn, "Anywhere with Jesus", Dr. Grierson accompanying with his trumpet.

The Griersons and Mr. McRae spent the winter in Seoul studying the language, then travelled six days overland to Wonsan, accompanied by Mr. M. C. Fenwick, recently returned from furlough. They arrived in Wonsan February 11, 1899.

### The Three Men

The three men were together again, each differing from the other, but together making a complementary team.

Mr. Foote was the scholar, aloof and retiring, plodding patiently with the language, keeping up his biblical and historical studies, already planning for the training of native leaders making contact with Christian groups already established, conscientious to a marked degree and steady, almost stubborn, in his opinions and action.

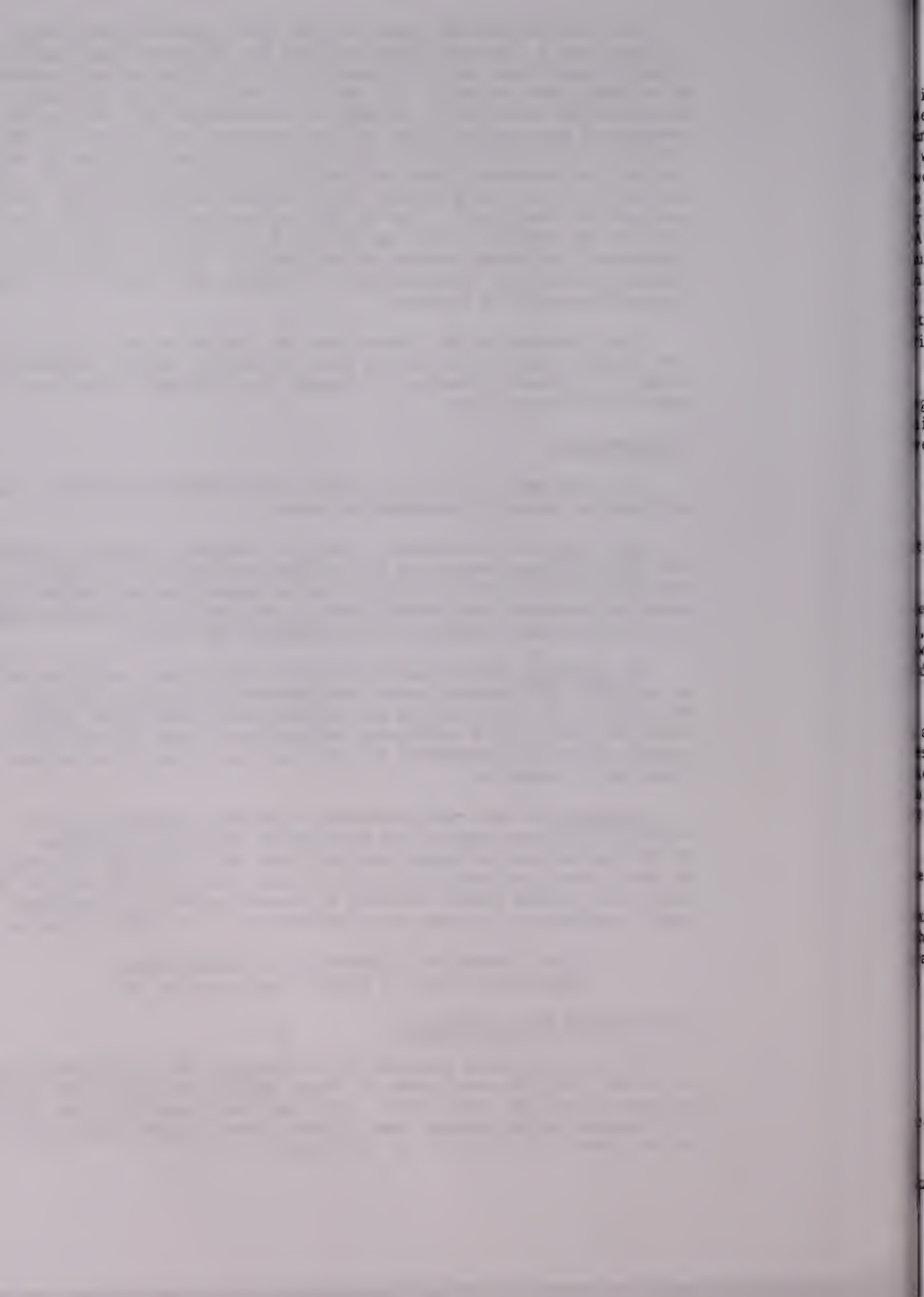
Dr. Grierson was the most versatile of the three, quick and apt in acquiring the language, eager and impetuous, impatient of rules and routine, his gaze ranging the horizon rather than fixed on the immediate task, with a wide range of interests, ready and skillful with medical aid, God's troubadour in music and song, himself an athlete and a sponsor of athletics.

Mr. McRae was the hard-headed man of affairs, practical minded, concerned about the physical as well as the spiritual well-being of the people, his eye taking note of their way of living, the condition of their homes, the fertility of their soil, the livestock and the mineral wealth, his robust frame revelling in forced marches, his exuberant spirit carrying him through every circumstance. We used to sing to him:

"Like a breeze or a torrent comes Duncan McRae,  
With a heart that is bigger than every new day."

### The Field Now Being Occupied

The area now being occupied by the Canadian Mission extended some 500 miles along the east coast of Korea, and at some points ran inland as much as forty or fifty miles. On a map that comes from that period it is marked off as running from a point midway between Wonsan and Pusan in the south to Vladivostok in the north.





Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries had resided here for some eight years, as well as the two independent missionaries, Fenwick and Hardie. Wonsan, which was the centre of the district, had been opened for Japanese residence in 1880, and for other foreigners in 1883.

In the autumn of 1886 Dr. W. B. Scranton of the Methodist Episcopal mission made a trip to the port but since he reported that the country was "very sparsely populated" nothing came of his visit. In 1891, Messrs. Moffett and Gale, returning from their Manchurian trip through Hamkyung province, visited Wonsan. Mr. Moffett reported that "in all this region we found what we consider the most beautiful, most wealthy and most prosperous region of Korea," and urged the opening of work there as soon as possible.

This report led to the appointment of Mr. J. S. Gale to Wonsan in April 1892, to open work for the Northern Presbyterian Mission. He was followed closely by Dr. W. B. McGill of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. It is probable that Mr. Fenwick preceded them both for he claims to have opened work there "where as yet no protestant missionary was located." We know that when Dr. Hardie moved to Wonsan in November 1892, he resided temporarily in Dr. McGill's dispensary and used one room of Mr. Fenwick's house as a clinic.

Dr. McGill, in addition to his medical work, explored the district extensively, preaching the word and distributing Christian literature. Our Canadian missionaries met people in Hamheung who had purchased scripture portions from him. He was on furlough when our missionaries reached Korea which explains why they were able to rent his home from the Methodist Mission.

The most active mission was that of the Northern Presbyterian Church. They had two missionaries residing in Wonsan, Messrs. Gale and Swallen. Both men had travelled the region, though Gale's literary work confined him largely to Wonsan and neighbouring territory. Mr. Swallen visited Hamheung frequently and made exploratory trips as far north as Kyung Sung, the capital of North Hamkyung Province. When the Northern Presbyterian Mission withdrew in favour of the Canadians, they reported Christians in 14 places, all of them in South Hamkyung.

Since the Canadians were still in the process of learning the language the Presbyterian North Mission allowed their two missionaries to continue their work for several months. Dr. Swallen remained until April 1899 and then transferred to Pyengyang; Mr. Gale was transferred to Seoul in September of that year. By June the three Canadian missionaries had sufficient grasp of affairs to survey the field and decide to divide it into two sections, north and south. Mr. Foote was given charge of the southern section, with residence in Wonsan; Messrs. Grierson and McRae the northern section, with Hamheung as centre. It so happened that residence in Hamheung was delayed for several years because that city was not yet recognized as an open port.

#### Language Study

Language study was the chief concern during 1899, and all applied themselves to that task, realizing, as Mr. Robb was later to observe,



that "as a woodsman without his axe, or a seamstress without her needle, so is a missionary without the speech of the people." They were fortunate to have the help and inspiration of Mr. Gale, one of the best linguists among the missionaries to Korea. Mr. Foote refers to "his pleasing manner and beautiful Korean language which made the Sunday services especially attractive." All three men made excellent progress in acquiring the language, Dr. Grierson becoming particularly proficient.

On the removal of Messrs. Gale and Swallen from Wonsan the Mission acquired the beautiful hill site called 'Pongsoodong' or Beacon Hill, together with three residences, towards the purchase of which, appropriate was applied the \$2,000 legacy left by Mr. McKenzie.

### The Year of Exploration

The year 1900 might be termed the year of exploration and discovery. They learned that their newly-acquired 'field' was a mountainous region with a scanty population concentrated on a few wide plains, or scattered along the fertile coastal strip and in the narrow valleys between mountain ranges. Farming, fishing, lumbering and mining were the principal occupations of the people. The northern and interior regions were isolated and remote enough from the capital to be considered down the centuries as safe places of banishment for political offenders. These exiles had brought with them the foundations of culture and had produced a rugged, individualistic, independent, and often brashly opinionated stock.

The missionaries had now sufficient knowledge of the language to undertake extensive itinerating. This they regarded as central to their task and each man reports the number of days he had spent on the road. They seem to have revelled in it. Like Masefield's Seekers:

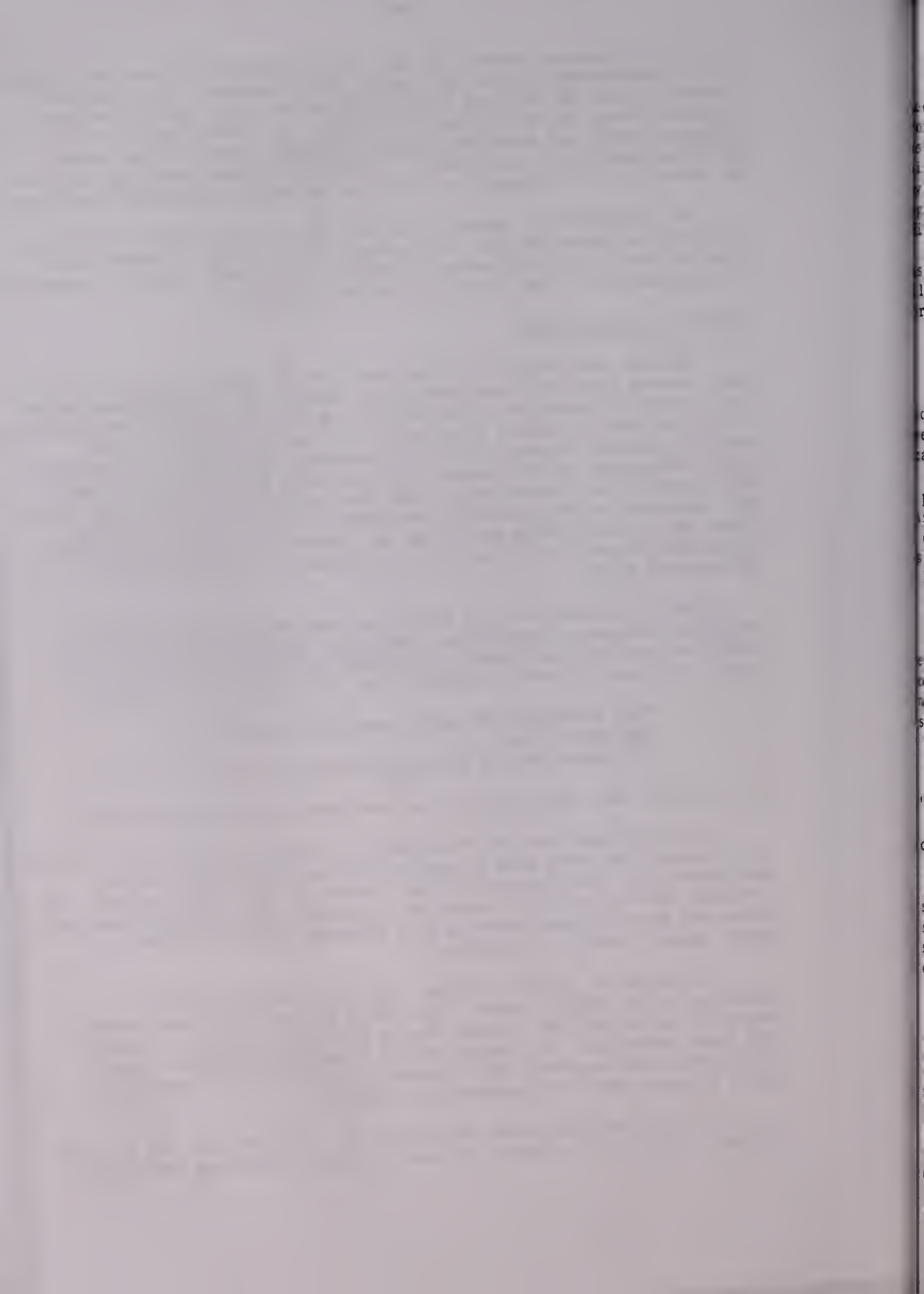
"They travelled the dusty road till the light of  
the day was dim  
And sunset showed them spires away on the world's rim."

That, indeed, was their object: to point men's minds upward to God.

In the southern section where most of the existing Christian groups were located, Mr. Foote made a point of visiting each group at least once during the year, and held study classes in the larger centres. The northern section, with the exception of certain large centres, was mainly untouched territory and demanded more extended tours, Grierson and McRae usually travelling together.

They began the year by joining the little Christian group in Hamheung in the week of prayer. They held a study class and preached daily in the market place, armed with a plentiful supply of gospels and sheet calendars. The latter proved a special attraction, being illustrated and coloured. Nine hundred of them quickly disappeared, and a thousand more were ordered from Wonsan.

They left for home again on January 19. The previous day had been bitterly cold and the Korean horsemen, reluctant to brave the winter's



blast announced that the roads were too icy to venture on. They reckoned without the practical bent of Duncan McRae. He hastened to the local blacksmiths who taught him to make and insert sharp calks in the pony's shoes, and off they went. Which led the doctor to write in his diary: "Here let me pay tribute of love to Duncan. Never was man more fortunate than I in the possession of a travelling companion and colleague."

The two men were not long at home before they began to chafe at confinement in Wonsan which was another man's territory, far removed from their own. Their feet itched for the road, and this time they went forward separately. Mr. McRae travelled to Hamheung and penetrated north to Pookchung, touching at several points on the way where Christian groups were growing up. Dr. Grierson visited towns and villages near Wonsan. He had heard of an exceptionally promising convert in Moonchun and decided to seek him out. His account is worth quoting.

#### Visit with Chun Kei Eun

"Arriving at Moonchun," he writes, "we soon find Mr. Chun's house on the outskirts of the town. He lives in a large house, and as evidence of his prosperity was tearing off the straw thatch and replacing it with tile. He is a member of a family which ranks high in the locality of wealth and influence, and though he was so busy that he could not be with us till the evening, many of his relatives and friends crowded our room to see and hear. The majority of these were very settled in their opposition to the gospel, several of them making fun of those who listened attentively. In the evening, in the midst of an unbelieving family, Mr. Chun Kei Eun, a young man, sitting alone, a solitary believer, boldly testified and lovingly entreated his friends and relatives to believe." This same Mr. Chun later became one of the ablest and best loved pastors in the Korean church.

This year the men ordered bicycles from America and Dr. Grierson gleefully records his first trip by 'bike' to Hamheung and points north. "It was one triumphant procession," he remarks. He gave an exhibition of cycling in the main street of Hamheung city "to get the people accustomed to foreigners and foreign ways before the women should come to live there." Wherever he went on this trip "crowds gathered to see the bicycle and remained to hear the preaching." He was accompanied by Mr. Soh Sang Yum of Sorai, whom Dr. Underwood had sent to assist the Canadian missionaries.

#### First Addition to the Staff

In August, Mr. McRae travelled to Japan to meet his fiancée, Miss Edith Sutherland of Baddeck, N.S. They were married in Tokyo on August 13, and after spending three weeks in Japan, they sailed for Korea, arriving in Wonsan on September 16. They were accompanied by Miss Louise H. McCully who had just been appointed as a single lady missionary to Korea. Miss McCully was a native of Truro who had gone to China under the Missionary Alliance, but was unable to work there because of the Boxer uprising. Her first love had been Korea, having been a leading figure



in the strong support given McKenzie by the women of the Maritimes. Denied the possibility of missionary service in China she immediately got in touch with the Korea Mission and the home board, and since her support was guaranteed by the group in Truro who supported her in China, she was duly appointed to Korea. She proved to be a valuable addition to the Korea staff and became one of the ablest women missionaries ever sent to Korea.

### The Opening of Sungjin as a Mission Station

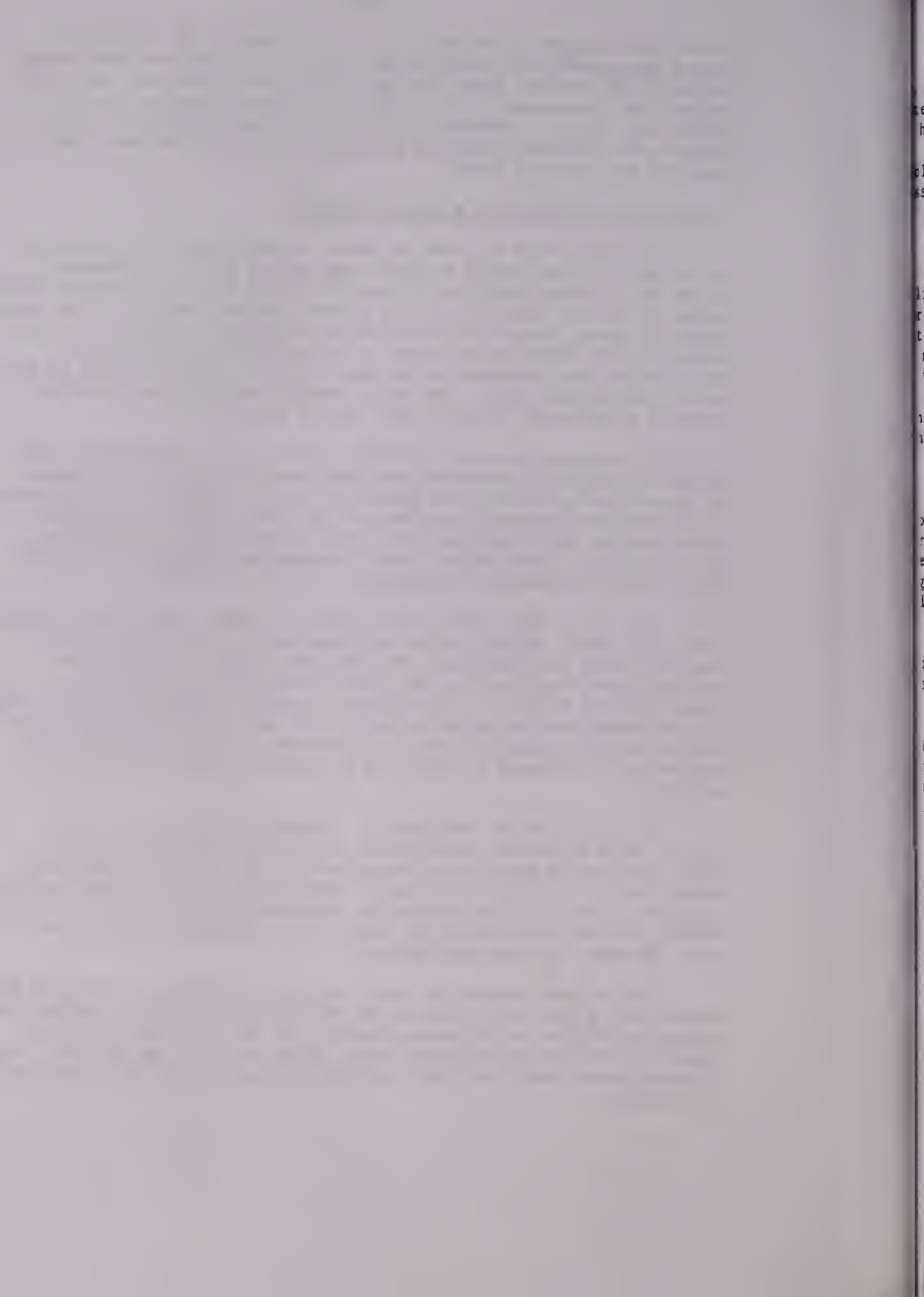
Two months were all that Mr. McRae allowed himself to establish his bride in Wonsan before he again took to the road. In November, he and Dr. Grierson made their historic trip to Sungjin, a seaport newly opened to foreign residence, lying halfway between Wonsan and the northern border of Korea, and as yet untouched by missionary effort. Here they separated, Mr. McRae going inland to the mountainous counties of Samsu and Kapsan, observing as he went that "the region is rich in gold, marble, copper and timber, and has a fertile soil yielding abundant harvests of potatoes, oats, barley, millet and wheat."

Dr. Grierson remained in Sungjin for a week, entranced with the prospect, thoroughly persuaded that this port "is destined to become to the northern province what Wonsan is to the southern." So impressed is he with the potential importance of the place that he feels "we should settle one or two men here, even at the expense of Hamheung." We will return to this matter later. Meanwhile we record an incident that reveals the hazards of missionary life at the time.

The two men had travelled to Sungjin by boat, taking their bicycles along with them. On his return trip overland, Dr. Grierson visited Tanchun, Yiwon and Pookchung. At Pookchung a carrier reached him with an urgent telegram from Mr. Foote, recalling him and McRae immediately to Wonsan. It seems that an edict had come from Seoul, ordering all foreigners to be put to death. It was a spurious order which was immediately countermanded by the Emperor, but consular officials advised all foreigners to remain in big centers where they could be protected.

On receipt of the telegram Dr. Grierson undertook a 'John Gilpin' type of furious bicycle ride to Wonsan, travelling day and night, discarding unnecessary impediments by the way, and "arriving safely but with bicycle tires badly cracked and bound up with bandages of stout cotton." McRae, meanwhile, continued his itinerary of the interior, and only learned of the edict when he emerged again to the coast through Pookchung and Hongwon.

The two men reported on their trip at the December meeting of the mission and a unanimous decision was reached that a mission station be opened in Sungjin the following spring. Dr. and Mrs. Grierson were appointed to take up residence there. They did so on May 18, 1901, Dr. Grierson having made two visits earlier to secure sites for a hospital and a residence.





## The Shortage of Staff

This initial survey of the field left with the missionaries an urgent sense of the inadequacy of their staff to accomplish the task assigned to them. They therefore made a strong appeal for re-enforcements stressing the following facts: (1) The enormous size of the field, representing 2½ of the 13 provinces of Korea, with 35 large magisterial towns and innumerable villages, a coast line of 500 miles, and a population of a million people (2) the whole field is accessible, with an enquiring and receptive people and a growing and eager native church; (3) No support is asked for native workers or church buildings, "since these will be provided here through the devotion and liberality of the native Christians" (4) The prime necessity of this field is an adequate staff of trained foreign leaders "to follow up, organize and superintend the work already begun by the natives, and to train the natural leaders for active service, with a view to establishing an independent native church."

Unfortunately the F.M.C. was in no position to comply with the appeal. They already had under appointment Rev. and Mrs. A. F. Robb who arrived on the field on October 31, 1901, but a heavy debt and the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war delayed the appointment of other ordained men until 1906 and 1907 when Rev. L. L. Young and Rev. A. R. Ross were sent out. During the interval, the services of Rev. and Mrs. G. E. Forbes, two of the most promising candidates, were lost to Korea by repeated delays and postponements. The continued interest and influence of the Maritime women is evidenced by the fact that during these years three women missionaries were appointed: Dr. Kate McMillan (1901), Miss Jennie Robb (1903), and Miss Catherine Mair (1905) who later became Mrs. L. L. Young.

This shortage of missionary personnel was to prove an embarrassment to the F.M.C., and a source of contention within the mission for many years to come.

## CHAPTER 6

### FACTORS MAKING FOR INITIAL SUCCESS

Despite the shortage of missionary staff, the Canadian Mission was able to report rapid extension of the work, a result that was probably due to two factors: (1) the methods of evangelism adopted, and (2) the social and political unrest that accompanied and followed the Russo-Japanese war.

When the Canadian missionaries arrived in Korea, they discovered that the Presbyterian missions had already adopted a policy of evangelism and church administration that looked forward to the establishment of a Korean church that would be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing. In 1890 Dr. John L. Nevius of Cheefoo was invited to visit Korea to explain what later came to be known as The Nevius Method. This method soon became the basic policy of all Presbyterian missions in Korea and strict conformity to it was enjoined on all new missionaries.



The Nevius Method

A general summary of this method may be given as follows:-

- (1) Each Christian convert to be an individual worker for Christ, remaining at his own calling, supporting himself by his trade, and living Christ in his own neighbourhood.
- (2) Church method and machinery to be developed only so far as the native church is able to care for and manage the same; church buildings and church leaders to be provided and supported by the native church.
- (3) Systematic bible study to be carried on in classes and institutes, with a clear-cut credal statement as authority based on the Bible.
- (4) Strict discipline to be enforced by Bible penalties.
- (5) Korea missions also required extensive itinerating and persistent personal evangelistic effort on the part of every missionary.

Missionary Itinerating

The Canadian missionaries were well schooled by their Presbyterian colleagues and followed closely the generally accepted policy. We have already noted how they obeyed the emphasis on itinerating. By the close of 1900 they had travelled the coastal area as far north as Im-Myung, beyond Sungjin, and penetrated into the mountainous regions of Samsu and Kapsan. All three men are at pains to report the number of days spent on the road and regarded this as their major appointment.

Itinerating was done on foot or on bicycle, by pack pony or ox-cart, with occasional trips by coastal steamer to points that could be reached by sea. Mr. Foote gives us a glimpse of the iterator at work. "There are no railways, and the fastest way of travel is at a walking pace. One is kept busy to make 30 miles a day. The Korean colporteurs and my language teacher accompany me. I have to take bed, blanket and food along. We go from group to group holding services and visiting families in each place. Wherever we go a crowd gathers - some old friends and some new. We explain the way of salvation to them. We sit for hours with eager listeners. The colporteurs open their packs and offer their books which sell readily. If in a Christian community we usually remain two or more days and spend most of the time in Bible study."

Evangelism by Local Christians

All agree that the Bible Society colporteurs and paid evangelistic workers do faithful work which has resulted in the establishment of many Christian groups. But the main work of evangelization is done by local Christians who have found the Christian faith too rich a possession to keep to themselves. They must share it with others, and when a new group is started "more advanced Christians from neighbouring



churches visit them, at their own expense, and help forward the cause." Mr. Foote reports finding one of the oldest Wonsan Christians over 80 miles from home, conducting services for a band of new believers. He had spent the winter there "because he feels he is needed." He also tells how work was begun in Anpyun through the effort of a Wonsan believer who sold his house in Wonsan and moved to Anpyun with the definite aim of establishing a church. "he so arranged two rooms of his new home that they make a comfortable meeting place."

Similar stories come from the northern field. The church in Sungjin was begun by an unbaptized believer who had moved there from Wonsan in 1900. He was the only Christian in that city when Dr. Grierson went there to begin work. The Christian carpenters who accompanied the doctor started the church at Yaedong where they cut timbers for the hospital and residence in Sungjin. They also helped swell the first congregation at Sungjin by winning to the faith a band of travelling merchants, eight in number, to whom they preached at the inn where they stayed. The merchants bought bibles and other Christian books and worshipped for a month with the group in Sungjin before proceeding on their journey north. They preached as they went and accompanied Korean emigrants into Manchuria and Siberia, thus opening the North to future preaching of the word.

Mr. McRae tells of his helper, Mr. Cha Eul Kyung, founding a Christian group at Im-myung and making a special trip to the interior to convert his brother who lived in Kapsan. Also from Mr. McRae comes the story of the founding of the church in Pook-chung, begun through the efforts of a young mechanic from Hong-won, a Mr. Ahn, who had moved there and won four families to the Christian faith.

### Openness and Opposition to Christianity

It is evident from the reports that the Korean people were open to new ideas and looking for the promise of better things. Mr. Foote writes: "Wherever I go I meet with a warm reception and have a crowd of eager listeners. Nowhere have I heard an unkind word or had any evidence that my presence was unwelcome." It is true that when Mrs. Foote and Mrs. McRae, with their husbands, visited Hamheung in 1901, the first foreign women to have entered the walled city, "they created such an excitement that after two days of nervous strain they found it advisable to withdraw ... quietly stealing away in the still of the night and walking ten miles before halting at a friendly village." But this was caused by curiosity rather than hostility, and we soon find Mrs. McRae and Dr. Kate McMillan making prolonged visits to the city.

### Life in a Christian Community

The missionary reports tell a fascinating story, giving us glimpses of life in a Christian group. Worship is held under the roof of an ordinary Korean home, the men crowded into the small room, seated on the hot floor, the women listening in from the kitchen.



"During the long winter evenings the believers gather in groups every night for worship and bible study." The missionary seldom needs to break new ground "because the natives are peculiarly fitted for such work," eager to do it. When the group becomes too large for a private home they plan a church building, which usually follows the structure of a large Korean house, angle-shaped, with one wing for the men and one for the women. This is their own conception and built with their own contributions in money and labour. "In every department of the work," writes Mr. Foote, "the natives have taken a leading part and feel it is theirs."

The emphasis, first and last, is on bible study and the training of leaders. The missionary encouraged the ablest men to preach, thus developing leadership. "The preparation and delivery of sermons, the conduct of services, inspired study and confidence and brought to the front the strongest men - men who will be our first evangelists and pastors." So wrote Mr. Foote, who, from the first specialized in leadership training. He attracted promising leaders from churches near and far to bible classes and institutes held in Wonsan. He proudly tells how these institutes were largely self-supporting: "Our Wonsan brethren furnished fuel for the church and sleeping rooms for the visitors. Sometimes those who came supported themselves, sometimes the church where they lived defrayed the expense." In addition to the formal training in the classroom, "there was much exchange of ideas and inspiration as missionaries and brethren from other districts came together."

Thus did the Korean church grow in numbers and in experience. Congregations gradually became fully organized; elders were elected; sessions formed, and recruits for the ministry selected. In September 1901, during the meeting of the Presbyterian Council, for the first time, delegates sent by the Korean churches were welcomed to a two day discussion of church affairs, conducted in the Korean language, thus inaugurating a period of training that eventually led to the formation of the first Korean Presbytery in 1907.

#### Evaluation of the Nevius Method

The Nevius Method undoubtedly produced remarkable results in the initial stages of the Christian mission in Korea. Its emphasis on missionary itinerating helped to avoid over concentration in the cities, set an example to Korean converts and led to a nation-wide dissemination of the Word. The emphasis on personal witness for Christ made every convert an evangelist and contributed to the rapid growth in numbers. Self-support and self-control in the local church built a self-respect and a sense of dignity as partners in an enterprise which, while basically Korean, also had ecumenical significance. The required training in biblical knowledge and constitutional church government made the Christian community the most literate and best organized section of the population, with a keen sense of law and order. Most important of all, the emphasis on moral rectitude, enforced by strict church discipline, produced an ethical standard that was generally acknowledged as excellent and worthy of emulation.





It is probably true that the system tended to over-emphasize its main principles and led to certain weaknesses. The over-emphasis on self-government produced a church hierarchy that was often motivated by pride of office. The over emphasis on church organization and worship tended to make the Christian community a community apart, with little interest in social affairs. The over-emphasis on self-support meant that all their resources were needed to keep the church organization going, with little thought or financial means left for social welfare. The over-emphasis on bible study placed too great stress on a superficial knowledge of scripture, tended to make this the norm of Christian excellence, and too severely narrowed the basis of scriptural interpretation. But these and other weaknesses are found also in the older established churches of Christendom.

### Social and Political Unrest

Another factor that contributed to the initial success and rapid growth of the Christian mission in Korea was the social and political unrest that accompanied and followed the Russo-Japanese war. To understand the situation it seems advisable, even at the risk of repetition, to trace briefly the course of events.

Korea's geographical location, situated as she is between China, Japan and Russia, inevitably led to trouble as soon as she abandoned her hermit isolation. China weakly continued the role of suzerain over her nominally vassal state and warned her against encroachment by Japan and Russia. Japan, for her own security, demanded that Korea be free from foreign control and have a stable and progressive government. Russia's aim was to build up her political position in the Orient by securing a sphere of influence in Korea and a southern, ice-free, port in that country.

Unfortunately, intrigue and corruption in Korean government circles initiated a chain of events that eventually led to her undoing. To quote from a reliable Korean historian: "Under the control of pro-Chinese reactionaries, the body politic of the Korean government was rotten to the core. The selling and buying of government positions was widely practiced and one who purchased an official position generally reimbursed himself by extortion. Tax levies were increased by local and national governments until they reached three or four times the legal rate. Extravagance, licentiousness and debauchery were the order of the day at court." The burden of all this fell heavily on the common people and led to a popular uprising, called the Tonghak Rebellion, which spread so rapidly and so menaced the central government that they requested Chinese military intervention. This led to counter military measures by Japan which finally resulted in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, in which China was ignominiously defeated.

China's elimination only served to bring Russia more openly into the picture. Bent on thwarting Japanese ambitions in the Orient,



Russia, backed by France and Germany, forced Japan to relinquish the Laotung Peninsula which a defeated China had ceded to her. Yet within three years (March 1898), she had negotiated a lease of that same territory for herself, and began angling for concessions in Korea. Japan's inept and arrogant dealings with the Korean government played into Russian hands. Her instigation of the brutal murder of the Korean queen (October 8, 1895) who had withstood her demands deepened the traditional hatred of Japan and drove the king to seek asylum in the Russian legation. Official positions began to be filled with pro-Russian personnel, and efforts were made to replace existing foreign advisors with Russian and French nationals.

These rival intrigues kept the country in constant turmoil and involved her in international rivalries. France and Germany encouraged Russia in her Asiatic ventures because this eased her pressure upon them in Europe, and also challenged England's prestige in Asia. England retaliated by forming the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902), which gave Japan confidence to take a strong attitude towards Russia. Korea became the focal point of dispute. Russia continued to acquire new concessions, including timber rights on the Yalu and a port at the mouth of that river for shipping purposes. The chief threat to Japan came when Russia acquired a coaling station at Masanpo, on the south coast of Korea. Prolonged negotiations constantly broke down and the deadlock finally led to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in February 1904.

#### Attitude of the Missionaries

It is probably true that the sympathies of most Protestant missionaries were with Japan, but the mental conflict they underwent may be reflected in the writings of Dr. Homer G. Hulbert, Editor of the Korea Review. His basic concern was the incompetence and corruption of Korean officialdom. He refers to the entrenched reactionary bureaucracy as "corrupt, blind and predatory." He fears that "as long as there are two powers which Korea can play off against each other so long will the old regime of conservatism prevail." He reluctantly concedes that a period of Japanese control may be necessary, but at the same time he fearlessly arraigns the Japanese government for permitting the arrogant exploitation of Koreans by Japanese carpet-baggers. As his biographer, Professor C. N. Weems, writes: "We find a mixture of hopefulness and despair with regard to the future of Korea under a Japanese protectorate."

#### Attitude of the Koreans

The Russo-Japanese war ended with the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty (Sept. 8, 1905) by which Russia was eliminated from the Korean scene and Japan left the undisputed arbiter of Korea's fate. Military necessity had already given her virtual control of the country and military officers were not too considerate of Korean sensitivities. Coolie labour was forcibly conscripted and despatched to the seat of war in Manchuria. Japanese soldiers were often quartered in Korean homes.



In the train of the army came Japanese civilians, many of whom treated the Koreans with arrogance and brutality, and used unscrupulous means of acquiring property. Higher Japanese officials pressed the advantage of their military prestige to force concessions from the helpless Korean government. The most flagrant proposal that all unsettled land in Korea be opened for Japanese settlement, led to such violent reactions that a modified martial law was imposed on Seoul. Finally, within two months of the end of the war, on November 17, 1905, Marquis Ito and General Hasegawa forced through a treaty which made Korea a Protectorate of Japan, a measure that had the support of the British and American governments.

It is not difficult to imagine the agony of mind and spirit through which the Korean people passed. Their own government for generations had been corrupt and inefficient. In more recent times it had vacillated between reform and reaction, and provided fertile ground for intrigue by rival foreign powers. Revolutionary movements, either by young radicals who expected too advanced and too rapid reform, or by Tonghaks who rebelled against corruption and oppression but opposed reform, had only led to military occupation by a foreign power. The country was now under military control by Japan, the traditional enemy of the Korean people with no friendly power likely to intervene to prevent the final humiliation, the loss of national status.

Dr. George Paik, from whom we have already quoted, draws a tragic picture of "a helpless people without friends, stricken by despair and deep national humiliation, trying to adjust themselves to new political economic and social conditions. The old foundations had been shaken, and the old order was passing. The people were in dire need of sympathetic friends, hope-restoring encouragement and leaders who could direct them in the necessary adjustment." He hints but does not explicitly state it, that the Christian church might offer the hope they need. "The problem of the Korean people was at bottom a spiritual problem," he writes, and follows with an account of the remarkable revival of religion that swept the country during the next few years.

### The Korean Pentecost

The Korean Pentecost, as it is sometimes called was born of the tragic circumstances of the times, but also owed its origin to the dedicated prayer life of many missionaries and Korean Christians. The first evidence of the movement came at a conference of missionaries in Wonsan. From 1903, Miss L.H. McCully of the Canadian mission and a friend from China had met daily for prayer that God would work in the hearts of his missionaries. This led to the organization in Wonsan of an annual Bible conference for missionaries. In 1904, Dr. Hardie now a member of an American Methodist Mission, was the leader and confessed that failure in his missionary effort was due to his neglect to give the Holy Spirit priority in his own life. This confession brought to missionaries and Korean workers a deepened sense of inadequacy and a rededication to prayer for revival of personal religion.



In 1905, Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries meeting in Seoul to organize a General Council of Evangelical Missions, decided that the most urgent need of the times was a united evangelistic drive throughout Korea. In pursuance of this decision, special prayer services were held in many places, and were accompanied by a remarkable stirring of hearts and consciences. This resort to prayer continued to increase through 1906, and special evidence of the Spirit's working was noted in Wonsan and Hamheung. Mr. A. F. Robb tells what happened at a class meeting being held at the Korean New Year, January 25. "Never before," he writes, "have I seen or felt the power of God so manifest. Missionaries and Koreans, men and women, old and young, many with tears and sobs, gave utterance to their sense of sin and their desire for cleansing."

In similar vein, but with less restraint, Mr. D. M. McRae describes a class meeting in Hamheung: "In all these meetings, the Spirit was present in power, for he did convict of sin. Thieves brought restitution, murderers cried for mercy, drunkards sat clothed in their right minds, the augean stables of envy, jealousy, back-biting and hatred received a thorough cleansing; new ideas of life, clearer visions of Christ as Saviour, and a loving, loyal spirit of obedience to God as Father, filled the hearts of all."

In August 1906, Dr. Hardie was invited to visit Pyengyang to lead a conference of Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries in that city. His witness to the effects of the spiritual awakening in the Wonsan district made a deep impression on the conference and led to sustained prayer for revival in Pyengyang, the most influential centre of Christian work in Korea. Expectations of similar blessing were strengthened by the report of revivals in India and Wales, brought by Rev. Howard A. Johnson of New York who was then visiting Korea.

Plans were laid for special revival services to be held during the Presbyterian Bible Training Class in January 1907. Their hopes were not disappointed. The evening meetings attracted some 1500 men, women being excluded for lack of room. Towards the end of the first week, with Dr. Graham Lee leading, the tension broke and men all over the church, began to find release in audible prayer, confessing sin and imploring forgiveness. Soon the entire congregation was praying, simultaneously. "Not confusion," writes Dr. W. N. Blair, "But a vast harmony of sound and spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by an irresistible impulse to prayer - an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne."

The last night of the class saw the climax of this experience. "Some threw themselves full length on the floor," writes Dr. Blair, "hundreds stood with arms outstretched to Heaven. Every sin a human being can commit was confessed that night. Pale and trembling with emotion, in agony of mind and body, guilty souls standing in the white light of that judgment, saw themselves as God sees them."

#### Avoidance of Political Involvement

Thus was launched the great Korean revival that was to sweep the country like a tidal wave. The Pyengyang class meeting dispersed





and each man returned to his own village and church afire with zeal to share with others his newfound freedom and faith. News of it spread throughout Korea and the helpless, hopeless multitudes turned to the church for comfort and guidance. Herein lay the supreme temptation and peril of the movement. In a day when an intense wave of national feeling was sweeping the land many saw in the Christian church the only hope for their country. 'Had she departed,' writes Dr. Blair, "even a little, from the strict principle of non-interference in politics, thousands would have flocked to her banner and welcomed her leadership. But the church would have become a political organization instead of a spiritual institution, and would have been utterly destroyed, as the Korean people, at that time, had no strength whatever to stand against Japan." "It took high courage, coupled with wisdom and great love," he continues, "to lead the church aright, to stand before men burning with indignation at their nation's loss and preach the doctrine of love and forbearance. Yet this was just what the missionaries and our best Korean leaders did."

### Result of the Revival Movement

The result was a deepening of the spiritual life of the church and a great accession to her numbers. Scenes similar to those that accompanied the revival in Pyengyang were witnessed in churches everywhere. It is probable that much of the agony of confession came not only from a sense of individual unworthiness but from a deep-seated conviction that every Korean bore a responsibility for the tragedy that had befallen the nation. The practice of prayer in unison, though causing a babel of sound, was a means of expressing corporate guilt as well as an opportunity for sensitive souls to pour out pent up emotions which natural pride and personal reticence would otherwise keep bottled up within. The utter helplessness of the nation and the individual made it easy for him to throw himself unreservedly upon a God whose supreme revelation of Himself came in the bearing of a cross for the sins of men. However we may account for it, the fact remains that God broke through the disillusionment and despair of countless Korean individuals and led their minds from the uncertainties of human institutions to the eternal stabilities, the things that cannot be shaken. The Christian church was used of God to attract thousands to its shelter and to keep alive in the Korean people a faith that life here and hereafter was still good because it was in the hands of God who would one day vindicate the faith of his people.

### The Revival Movement in Our District

Our section of Korea felt the impact of the religious revival, though the response of our people was more restrained than that of the impetuous people of Pyengyang. January 1907 found the Presbyterian and Methodist Christians of Wonsan united in the Universal Week of Prayer, which issued in the decision to continue prayer for revival through the coming months. It was not until the class meeting in June that the answer came. Present at that class were Dr. R. P. MacKay, Secretary of our Foreign Mission Board, accompanied by Dr. Jonathon Goforth, missionary to China. They reported evidences of revival they had witnessed in Pyengyang. This may have been the spark that ignited the flame, for Mr. A. F. Robb records that on the same night,



at two o'clock in the morning, two Korean Christians came to the missionary home and kept all awake until five "praying for the missionaries, the Korean helpers, the church people and the pupils in the boys' and girls' schools." This, adds Mr. Robb, "was the beginning of some wonderful days of revival."

At the Hamheung class there was less demonstration but definite commitment made to bible study and personal evangelistic effort. Country groups were well represented "Chung-pyung sending thirty in a body, with their own pots and little bags of rice" to feed themselves. At the close of the class all were asked to promise so many days to personal evangelism, and 400 days were volunteered by both men and women, "some one week, others two, and still others for longer periods."

Dr. Grierson had returned from furlough in November 1906, and was on hand to guide and encourage the movement in Sungjin. He tells how calls came from all sides. "Twice have messengers come from Manchuria, who desire instruction in the gospel. North of Sungjin there are now a score of places where Christians are reported whom the missionary has not yet seen. All of this the growth of the present year." He and Mrs. Grierson undertake the difficult trip to the interior to dedicate two new churches in Samsu, and they tell how five years ago there were only two Christian families in the whole region, whereas now Christians number more than 100.

#### Example of Primitive Korean Preaching

The doctor's diary gives an interesting description of how his Korean evangelist, preaching in the market places of the country town adapts his message to his hearers in this backward and superstitious region. He explains that the large number of cows brought to the cattle market is due to the fact that so many people in the neighbouring province of Pyeng-an have become Christian that they now export cattle that had hitherto been used in their sacrifices to the spirits. He then winds up by warning his hearers that the evil spirits, driven by Christianity out of other provinces might all congregate here in this forsaken region, ending with the Korean equivalent of a "nice time they'll give you if you don't look out."

Whatever we may think of the methods employed or the content of the gospel preached, the fact remains that the great revival of 1907 firmly established the Christian church as a substantial and vital new force in Korea whose influence and appeal reached the most remote sections of the country.

### Chapter 7

#### AFTER TEN YEARS

We have now reached a point where we can look back over ten years of mission work and estimate the progress made.



We begin with a statistical table appended to the 1909 mission report adding for the sake of comparison, a column for 1899, the year Drs. Gale and Swallen handed over the work to the Canadian missionaries.

Statistical Report to June 1909

	<u>Wonsan</u>	<u>Hamheung</u>	<u>Sungjin</u>	<u>Totals</u>	
				<u>1909</u>	<u>1899</u>
Men Missionaries	2	2	2	6	3
Missionary Wives	2	1	1	4	2
Women Missionaries		1	3	4	
Total Missionary Staff				<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>
Korean Evangelists	25	36	26	87	-
Theological Students	6	2	1	9	-
High School Students	57	44	9	110	-
Primary School Pupils	290	327	95	712	15
Christian Groups	35	37	62	134	14
Communicants	630	373	138	1141	63
Under Instruction	536	338	234	1108	-
Total Christian Community	2297	1997	1308	5594	308

We note, first, that the mission is now firmly established in three strategic centres - Wonsan, Hamheung and Sungjin - with missionary staff in permanent residence in each place. Wonsan was already a vigorous missionary centre when our missionaries accepted responsibility for it in 1898-9, with Dr. Foote in charge. Dr. and Mrs. Grierson took up residence in Sungjin in 1901. Mr. McRae had charge of the work in Hamheung but, owing to the conservatism of the people there and the fact that the city was not yet open for foreign residence, it was not until 1905, that he and Mrs. McRae could reside there permanently.

Growth of the Korean Church

The religious revival of 1907 carried over for several years and led to a marked increase in the number of churches and Christians throughout Korea. Reference to the table given above will show the result in our section of Korea. When we took over from the Northern Presbyterian Mission there were only 14 Christian groups. By 1909 they had increased to 134. The number of communicants had grown from 63 to 1141, and the total Christian community from 308 to 5594.

The Korean revival inspired remarkable optimism among missionary leaders and did more to bring Korea to the notice of the west than did the political developments that finally robbed her of her independence. Drs. John R. Mott and Arthur J. Brown are both on record as



believing that "Korea will be the first nation in the non-Christian world to become a Christian nation." Our own F. M. Committee reported on the 1909 General Assembly that "it may be said without exaggeration that at the present moment the eyes of the Christian world are on Korea, and that many of those who are in a position to understand the situation best are looking for Korea's speedy evangelization."

#### Lack of Missionary Re-enforcements

This estimate was, of course, too optimistic, but it might have had greater validity had the mission boards been able to heed the urgent requests of the Korea missions for additional staff to cope with the situation. The F. M. Committee's hopeful report, mentioned above, ended with the words: "We regret that we are unable to send re-enforcements." It is probably true that a great opportunity was missed. In the Providence of God the tide in the affairs of Korea was running high, but the Christian churches in more favoured lands failed to take it at the flood. As it was, the ingathering was nothing short of spectacular, but the lapses during the next few years, due to lack of competent supervision were extensive. As Mr. Foote wrote at the time: "Men and women may decide to call themselves Christian from pure motive, but if not looked after, may soon fall away. But when attention is immediately given them, when they are visited, instructed, organized and encouraged, they become true believers."

#### Training of Korean Christian Leaders

As already stated, the rapid and extensive growth of the Korea church was due largely to the devotion and zeal of Korean Christians. From the beginning the church attracted able Koreans who found in it scope for their ability as leaders. The three pioneer missionaries often refer to their 'helpers' with words of praise and gratitude. "In every department of the work," writes Mr. Foote, "they have taken a leading part, and have proved themselves workmen of whom none need be ashamed." Mr. McRae repeatedly refers to Mr. Cha Eul Kyung, "a man greatly blessed in his labours. Faithful and earnest, this servant of God works with untiring zeal to bring his fellow-countrymen to the light. He is a man of whom I can say with Paul, 'I thank God on every remembrance of you.'" We read of such names as Yoo Tai Yun, the first elder to be ordained in our section of Korea; Shin Chang Hui, "the father of the church in Hamheung," Soh Kyung Chai, who had known McKenzie in Sorai and who was sent by the Northern Presbyterian Mission to help the inexperienced Canadians; Kim Yung Chai, one of the first men to be ordained in our field, who was a great help to the missionaries in evangelizing the north; Hong Sung Kook, who was language teacher and helper to several early missionaries; Chun Kei Eun, a veritable saint and highly respected pastor; and Kim Chang Bo, a stalwart, robust type who paired off well with Duncan McRae.

By 1909 there were 87 Korean evangelists at work, and 9 students attending theological college. Training for leadership began in Bible classes which were held in all the large churches, and in Bible institutes carried on in the centres of missionary residence. In 1901





the Presbyterian Council adopted a tentative course of study for candidates for the ministry, in accordance with which Mr. Foote opened a special three months course in Wonsan which was attended by 20 men. The following year he was invited to help in a class in Pyengyang. From 1904, by decision of the Presbyterian Council, theological education was concentrated in Pyengyang, and Mr. Foote was appointed to give some time each year to teach there.

Meanwhile, wise preparation was being made to train Korean leaders in church administration. In 1901, as mentioned before, the practice began of holding several sessions of the Presbyterian Council with invited Korean leaders participating, the proceedings being carried on in the Korean language. The first elder in our district was ordained in 1905. By 1909 the number had increased to 7, but as yet there was no ordained pastor or local Presbytery.

### One Presbytery for All Korea

The year 1907 saw the formation of one Presbytery for all Korea. It coincided with the graduation of the first 7 theological students and their ordination to the ministry. Mr. Robb was one of our missionaries present on this occasion and describes it as follows: "The Presbytery of Korea was duly organized on September 15, with 49 ministers (all missionaries) and 54 elders (all Koreans) present. The feature of the Presbytery was the ordination to the ministry of seven Korean brethren who had completed the five year course in the theological classes in Pyengyang. These are the first Korean Presbyterian pastors." He goes on to tell why this event was of particular interest to Canadians. "In the ordination I laid my hand on the head of the man whose Macedonian call to the Canadian church brought me to Korea. This was Soh Kyung Jo, the elder at Sorai in whose home our pioneer missionary, McKenzie lived and died."

This organization of a Korean Presbytery, coming when it did, gave the Korean Christian a welcome new sense of dignity, and opened doors of opportunity for service. This undoubtedly had the effect of attracting to Christian service, both as pastors and elders, many able men who, because of the unfolding political situation, were denied participation in their own national affairs.

### The Three-Nation Evangelistic Society

We have already referred to the evangelistic zeal of early Korean Christians and the part they played in the rapid growth of the church. Special mention might be made of the ambitious venture undertaken by the Christian groups in Sungjin. Confronted with the challenge of the untouched regions of North Korea, and of the growing number of Koreans spilling over into Manchuria and Siberia, they organized themselves into what they called "The Three-Nation Evangelistic Society". They sought to enroll every adult Christian in the district, asking them to pledge five cash per week for the work of the society. One



eager young man gave impetus to the movement by saying: "I have no ready cash, but I have a watch, and I gladly give it to the cause." This society, under the dynamic leadership of Major Lee Tong Hui, a retired member of the old palace guard, now a zealous evangelist, functioned successfully for several years and did much to open up the work that was later taken over by the Western Section of the Foreign Mission Committee of our church.

### Educational Work

Christian missions can be credited with the introduction of modern education into Korea. Until this time the traditional Kwaga or Confucian system prevailed under which the privileged few attended the "sohdang", or village school, where they were taught the Chinese ideograph and introduced to the classical literature. The brightest students continued their studies under capable teachers and aspired to the Kwaga or national examinations, success in which led to official preferment. But the vast majority of the people remained illiterate.

The Christian church, on the other hand, required of all its adherents that they be able to read and, if possible, to write. Every Christian was supposed to own a Bible and a hymnbook and to make use of them in private devotions and public worship. Attendance at bible classes and institutes was urged on all, where the Bible, church history, church government and discipline, together with devotional literature, were studied and notes taken. This applied equally to all Christians - men and women, old and young, irrespective of their social standing.

It was natural, then, in the absence of a national educational system, that day schools should spring up in the larger churches, which proved not only a means of educating the children of Christian parents but also of attracting children of non-Christian homes.

The church in Wonsan was already operating a day school when our mission took charge there. The An-pyun school was "organized in 1900 and the salary of the teacher pledged by the parents before the missionary knew such a movement was underfoot." The spirit of this group was further demonstrated by the fact that they "so far broke with Korean custom as to have boys and girls attend the same school." Hamheung church opened a school for boys in 1901. Classes for girls had already been held by both Mrs. Foote and Mrs. McRae in their homes, but in 1903 the Wonsan church took over the work and opened a school for girls, to be followed closely that same year by the Hamheung church. By 1909 the number of primary schools being run by the Korean church in our district was 33, with 482 boys and 230 girls enrolled. Academy work for boys was begun in all three missionary centres in 1908, and in 1909 reported 110 students attending. From the beginning primary school work for boys was carried entirely by the Korean church, academy (or high school) work by the mission.



Medical Work

For several years after the establishment of our mission medical work was carried on in a spasmodic fashion. The emphasis was on evangelism, and medical work was evaluated largely on the extent to which it contributed to the winning of converts. This was in line with the statement of policy drawn up by the Council of Missions in 1893. The paragraph on medical work ends with the statement: "Dispensary work is of comparatively little value," evidently because it offers limited opportunity of leading the patient to the Christian faith. It will be recalled that Dr. H. A. Hardie, quite early in his career, abandoned medical work and concentrated on evangelism. It is interesting, also, to note that the Canadian Mission, in recommending the appointment of Dr. Kate McMillan, stipulated that "she is not to confine herself to medical work."

Dr. Robert Grierson, the medical member of the group of three pioneers, was also an ordained minister and an eager evangelist. It was natural that he should divide his interest between these two lines of work. Circumstances, however, conspired to make routine medical practice impossible. The only man in an extensive area he was under compulsion to itinerate widely and make known the good news. When Christian groups were established there were incessant calls for visits to instruct and encourage. When at home, there were building operations to be undertaken for church, hospital and school. The first small hospital building was no sooner completed (in 1902) than it had to serve as temporary residence for the newly arrived Robb family. Later, its use as a hospital was further interrupted by the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war and by Dr. Grierson's furlough. On his return to Korea the doctor found his time and energy taxed to the limit by the unprecedented response of the Koreans to the revival movement of 1907. As late as 1909, he frankly admits that "medical work is but an incident in the life of Sungjin station." Yet he points out in the same report that his is the only hospital between Wonsan and Vladivostock which does surgical work, and reports for that year 100 operations and 1743 outpatients.

Dr. Kate McMillan was able to do only a limited medical work in Wonsan, first in her own home, and later in a building rented with funds donated by her father. Most of her medical work was done on her frequent itinerating trips in the country, during which her main concern was preaching and teaching. Only in 1908 was she able to transfer permanently to Hamheung to open medical work there, her first dispensary being a building that had been purchased for use as a barn. Even then, her work was interrupted by her first furlough in 1909.

Women's Work

The importance of work among women has always been recognized by Christian missionaries. The Korea Council of Missions, in their statement of policy already referred to, are on record as holding that "The conversion of women and the training of Christian girls should be



a special aim, since mothers exercise so important an influence over future generations." In accordance with this policy missionary wives added to their household duties the task of teaching in Sunday schools, Bible classes and Institutes for women. They frequently itinerated with their husbands and made personal contact with women folk in their homes. The very presence of missionary wives and their witness to the place of women in a Christian home, bore a significant influence in Korean society. Women began to appreciate the blessings and benefits of the Christian faith for them - the new dignity and status for women in home and community, better health services for themselves and their families, greater opportunity for education, and above all, the richer and warmer fellowship they enjoyed in the Christian church.

Women's work was given new emphasis with the arrival on the field of Miss L. H. McCully, not only because she was the first single woman missionary appointed, but because of her own exceptional ability and strength of character. Miss McCully had been an active worker in W.M.S. circles in the Maritimes and was a doughty champion of woman's place in the Christian church. She early recognized the potential strength of Korean women and threw herself without reserve into the task of winning them to Christ, teaching them the Bible, organizing them into missionary societies and providing them with capable leadership training. In addition to her program of extensive itinerating she assisted in special classes for women in Wonsan, Hamheung and Sungjin. As early as 1903, two years after her arrival on the field, she taught in the regular 10 day class for women in Hamheung and "also spent two weeks teaching a special class in her own house."

Thus began the splendid work of training women workers which was later to prove such a force for good not only in our Canadian Mission but throughout Korea. From this time on we find frequent mention of 'Miss McCully's Bible-women,' many of them basking in the new dignity of possessing a name such as Miriam, Maria, Monica, Tabitha, Dorcas or Hannah. In 1908 the mission authorized a central class for women workers in Hamheung, which was attended by 40 women drawn from the three mission stations. The following year, 1909, Miss McCully organized the first Korean W.M.S., in Hamheung, and reported branch organizations in seven churches in the district, with a total membership of 263 members.

### Relating to Property

As already noted, the first piece of property acquired by the mission was the land and building occupied by the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Wonsan. There was considerable haggling over the price, even between mission boards, but finally, in September 1900, the deeds were handed over by Dr. Gale, duly attested by the Korean prefect in Wonsan who happened to be no other than the well-known Christian statesman, Yoon Chi Ho. The site was a beautiful wooded promontory, called Pongsoodong, or Beacon Hill, overlooking Wonsan harbour. The houses were Western style homes, small in size and of simple construction. There was considerable discussion regarding the manner of life the missionary should adopt. The tragic experience of Mr. McKenzie led the mission board to decide against too close identification with the Korean mode of living, especially for families. They advised a moderate approximation to the manner of living they were accustomed to in Canada. Houses, furniture, food, clothing and mode of living were patterned on a modest western scale, using local products wherever





possible and importing only when necessary.

The first building operation undertaken by the mission took place in Sungjin. It will be recalled that in December 1900, the mission decided that Sungjin should be made a mission station and appointed Dr. and Mrs. Grierson to reside there. By March 1901, the doctor had made a second visit to the city and secured suitable sites for a hospital and missionary residence. On May 18, he moved to Sungjin with his family and immediately began building operations. The annual report for that year enumerates the buildings either completed or in process of construction. They included "a board shanty for temporary dwelling, a hospital building, a missionary residence, a hospital well (70 feet deep), a residence well (50 feet deep), and a small house for Korean servants."

#### Unexpected Help in Building Project

Assistance in this undertaking came from two unexpected sources. The doctor had written his father, Mr. John Grierson, a well-known Christian worker in Halifax, telling of the building program and, offhandedly, wishing he were there to help. The response came several weeks later in the form of a telegram from Seoul, telling of the father's arrival there, tool kit in hand, on his way to Sungjin. He spent almost two years with his son, rendering invaluable service in the building operation, making itinerating trips to the country and delighting his new-found Korean friends with his magic lantern and slides.

The second helper was Mr. Hugh Miller of Seoul. He was a young Scot who had migrated to Canada and begun work in a dry goods store in Halifax. He had been keenly interested in the founding of the Korea Mission and had asked Dr. Grierson to look out for any position a layman might fill on the foreign field. It so happened that Dr. H. G. Underwood was looking for a man to do secretarial work for him. On Dr. Grierson's recommendation he invited Mr. Miller to come to Korea and employed him for two years. Leaving Dr. Underwood's employ Mr. Miller had travelled to Sungjin to consult with Dr. Grierson. He stayed for several months helping in the building program. Subsequently he became assistant and later secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Korea, a post which he held with marked distinction for over 30 years.

We have already noted that there was difficulty in securing property in Hamheung City, the F.M.B. being unwilling to circumvent the law, as other missions had done, by holding property in the name of a Korean. Negotiations were repeatedly held up until 1903 when Mr. McRae finally secured an attractive site inside the city wall. Foreign residence was now permitted by law and construction began on the first foreign house, a modified Korean style building, using the excellent timbers from an unused banquetting hall purchased from the city. The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war interrupted building operations and made permanent occupation impossible until late in 1905.



### Korean Church Buildings

Growth in the Korean church was naturally followed by an increase in the number of church buildings. Converts met first in private homes and when their numbers increased, they secured a large Korean house which they altered for the purpose of worship and study classes. In the larger centres new churches were erected to accommodate the growing congregations. In 1899, the three groups of Christians in Wonsan which had hitherto worshipped separately in private homes united to build the first large Christian church in our section of Korea. By 1905, the number of churches had increased to 22, and by 1909, to 53, all of them built by the Koreans themselves without mission subsidy.

Worthy of note as an evidence of the growing prosperity and confidence of the church was the building of the Shin-chang-ni church in Hamheung. In 1907, the Christians of that city had grown to such a considerable group that they decided to build a church more worthy of their Lord. The enthusiasm and self-denial with which they tackled the job so impressed a Mr. Taylor, an American mining friend of the mission whose father had come from Nova Scotia, that he donated \$500 to the project. Though only a fraction of the total raised, this contribution greatly encouraged the congregation. They secured an excellent site on a prominent hill and purchased 250 logs cut by the city in a nearby park and offered for sale. In order to save on the transportation of the logs the congregation was organized into groups for this purpose. "For eight days," reads a report, "aristocrat" and coolie, old and young, the missionaries and our friend Taylor, vied with each other, as, in long rows, they tugged merrily at the huge logs. One end was placed on a cart and the other dragged. The work was hard but no one murmured, for the people had a mind to work."

The final result was one of the largest and most beautiful churches in Korea, built Korean style, with tiled roof, and shaped like a C, one wing for the men and one for the women. For several decades its stately prominence in the city was the pride of the congregation and the mission, a fitting witness to the majesty of God and the vitality of the Christian faith.

### Through Sickness and War

During the first ten years the mission had successfully weathered the conditions of sickness and war. The chief danger to health seems to have come from mosquitoes, vermin and contaminated water. All three men of the pioneer group suffered from typhus, typhoid or malaria, apparently contracted when away from home on itinerating trips. The women were more fortunate and seem to have escaped any serious attacks.

The Russo-Japanese war (1904-5) caused serious interruption of the work. On orders from the British Consulate in Seoul, Sungjin and



Hamheung were evacuated and the staffs concentrated in Wonsan. An interesting story shows how the long arm of the British navy stretched out to care for its nationals. Without previous consultation, Dr. Grierson's brother in Ottawa, realizing that Canadian missionaries in North Korea would be in danger, approached the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Minister of External Affairs, who communicated with the Foreign Office in London. Contact was made with British naval units in Shanghai and on March 7, 1904, Canadian missionaries were surprised to see H.M.S. Phoenix sail into Wonsan harbour en route to Sungjin to evacuate Canadian missionaries there.

Russian Cossacks overran the two provinces where our mission worked and did considerable damage. They laid waste the Japanese settlement in Sungjin, destroyed 130 houses in Hamheung and burned the Mansai Bridge - the only access to the city from the south. Wonsan was shelled from the harbour and attacked on land. The Russians, however, were no match for the well-trained, well-equipped Japanese troops and were soon defeated and driven back across the northern border. Christians were not particularly molested by either side, except that church leaders who had followed the western style of wearing the hair short were suspect by both Japanese and Russians as spies for the enemy.

#### Mission Agreement on Division of Territory

One of the most significant events of this period was an agreement between Presbyterian and Methodist missions on a division of territory to avoid overlapping. The early missionaries of these two denominations had worked in close harmony and co-operation. They shared the trying experiences of one rebellion and two wars, and the tragic political situation that followed. Christian fellowship and mutual encouragement was maintained through union worship services in English, and by annual Bible conferences. There was frequent interchange of preachers, both missionary and Korean, during the stirring times that led to the religious revival. It was natural that the thought of greater unity should arise.

Informal discussions began in Seoul in June 1905 which led to the organization, in September, of a General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea: (Later changed to Federal Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea.) All six missions - four Presbyterian and two Methodist missions - participated. Article 2 of the constitution of the new organization read as follows: "The aim of this Council shall be to co-operate in Christian work, and eventually the organization of one Evangelical Church in Korea." The second part of this aim was a bold objective that might have succeeded had it come earlier. As it was, the Presbyterian missions were already pledged to the formation of a Korean Presbyterian Church, with the date fixed for 1907, when the first Korean pastors would be ordained. This was the chief obstacle on which the ship of church union foundered. With their natural predilection to factionalism Koreans took all too readily to denominational divisions, and though conversations were held at the time, and repeated later, no headway was made towards church union.



The Council was more successful in its aim of encouraging co-operation, the most notable achievement being the mutual agreement on division of territory. Between 1905-08 agreement was reached between the various missions that helped to eliminate denominational rivalry. In the case of our own mission, both we and the Southern Methodist mission had work in the adjoining provinces of Hamkyung and Kangwon. Delay in reaching an agreement was caused not because of any dispute with our Methodist brethren, but because of acute difference of opinion within our own mission. Some of our missionaries, led by Dr. Grierson and Miss L. H. McCully favoured our withdrawal from Wonsan and district in favour of the Methodist Mission, thus enabling our small staff more adequately to evangelize the northern province of Hamkyung. Others, including Messrs. Foote and Robb, argued that this would break faith with the Northern Presbyterian Mission which had withdrawn from Wonsan in our favour, and with the newly organized Korean Presbyterian Church which had several strong congregations in and near Wonsan.

The final agreement, reached in February 1908, is described by Mr. Foote as follows: "We agreed to withdraw from most of the territory south of Wonsan, and transferred to the Methodist Episcopal Mission South 27 groups, 97 baptized members, 171 catechumens and about 1000 adherents. They, on their part, agreed to recognize the territory north of Wonsan, in the Hamkyung provinces, and part of the Tokwon and Anpyun counties, south of Wonsan, as the territory of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, and transferred to our care the one group of Christians they had in that district. The group numbered 20, three of whom were baptized." Wonsan City was to remain common territory to both missions.

#### New Sense of Urgency Regarding the North

One result of the protracted wrangling in our mission over Wonsan was a renewed sense of our obligation for the evangelization of North Hamkyung province, and the Kando region of Manchuria beyond the Tumen River. This latter region had long been a major concern of Dr. Grierson who had made several visits to Presbyterian groups there, but every mention of Lando in his reports had been ordered deleted "because this area was outside our responsibility." Even during the negotiations on division of territory, Dr. Hardie of the Methodist Mission was given to understand that Canadian Mission responsibility ended at the Tumen River, and that "the Methodist Mission was welcome to all territory beyond it."

This understanding may not have been known to Dr. Grierson, for early in 1909, in response to repeated requests from Presbyterian groups who had migrated there from Hamkyung province, we find him again paying them a visit in Kando. While there he met Dr. Hardie, who, accompanied by Mr. Vesey, was investigating work opened there by the Methodist Church the previous year. Dr. Grierson generously offered to withdraw from the field and sent Dr. Hardie the names of five Presbyterian groups which he would be glad to transfer. Dr. Hardie, in equally generous ecumenical spirit, returned the list, stating that





his investigation convinced him that the area, contiguous as it is to Canadian Mission territory, and likely to attract a preponderance of Presbyterian groups, should be entrusted to the Canadian Mission. He later took the matter up with his fellow-superintendents of the Methodist Missions and in a letter dated June 29, 1909, wrote: "It is decided that I should write you to say that we are willing to withdraw from the field if your mission will undertake to man and push the work as the occasion and opportunity demand."

This offer spurred the missionaries on the southern stations of the mission to greater solicitude for the northern area. Repeated urgent requests to the Eastern Section of the F.M. Committee brought only regret that financial difficulties prevented them from enlarging the staff. Mr. Robb made a long itinerating trip in the north and reported to the home committee that: "This northern territory, with a quarter of a million unevangelized Koreans needs resident missionaries. A station should be opened there as soon as possible, and for this reason, we urge that the Western Division of the F.M. Committee co-operate in the work in Korea." He also added that "adjoining this field, in Manchuria, there are said to be 150 to 200 thousand Koreans." Mr. Foote went further and wrote direct to Dr. R. P. McKay, secretary of the Western Division of the F.M. Committee, urging co-operation because "We have been told by other missions that our claim to the north will not be respected unless we occupy the territory."

Thus began the urgent appeal from the mission that finally led to the Western Division of the F.M. Committee deciding to co-operate in the Korea Mission of our church.

## Chapter 8

### EXPANSION NORTHWARD UNDER WESTERN DIVISION

Until 1909 the foreign mission work of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was carried on under two divisions of the Foreign Mission Committee - the Eastern (or Maritime) Division and the Western Division (E.D. and W.D.) Each of these divisions had opened missions in certain field : the Eastern Division in the New Hebrides (1848), Trinidad (1868), British Guiana (1885) and Korea (1898); the Western Division in Formosa (1871), India (1877), Honan, China (1888) and South China (1901). Each Division had sole responsibility for the staffing and support of its own missions, and made its own report to the General Assembly.

The first change in this policy was dictated by the urgency of the Korean situation. In 1908, the Eastern Division, unable for financial reasons to respond to the repeated urgent requests of the Korea Mission for increased staff, officially requested the Western Division "to co-operate in Korea by opening a station" there. After some hesitation, also due to financial difficulties, the Western Division, in 1909, responded to the call. They decided to enter Korea and received the



necessary authorization from the General Assembly to do so. This action was taken "in view of the extraordinary spiritual awakening in Korea during recent years and the increasing prospects of rich harvests in the near future," and also "in the hope that the marvellous progress of the gospel in Korea will bring forth liberality and interest in the whole foreign mission work of the church."

The Situation in Korea

This decision of the Western Division came at a time when conditions in Korea presented the Korea Missions and the young Korean church with an unparalleled challenge and opportunity. The political situation was rapidly deteriorating and culminated in the loss of Korean independence and annexation by Japan. It was a time of "supreme national hopelessness," none the less tragic because it was due largely to the incompetence of her own government. Appeals to other nations and to the Hague tribunal having failed, nothing remained but humiliation and despair. And as so often happens in such circumstances, men sought comfort and encouragement in a religious faith; man's extremity proving God's opportunity.

Missionaries and Korean Christians alike sensed the challenge and rose to the opportunity. The first wave of revival (1907) had already subsided, and the times seemed ripe for a new movement of the spirit. It began in 1909 in the experience of certain Methodist missionaries, and spread to the entire missionary body through special meetings led by the evangelists Chapman and Alexander who happened to be making an Oriental tour at the time. By 1910 it had struck fire in the Korean church, and while falling short of its objective of "A Million Souls for Christ," resulted in a remarkable increase in the number of Christian converts.

It is probably true that many entered the church in the hope that it might influence the political situation, but despite considerable lapsing, the movement did much for the church and the country. It enlisted the Christian community in an evangelistic effort that set the pattern for years to come. It brought into the church many able men who found in Christian service scope for abilities otherwise denied them. It also helped to maintain peace and order during the trying year of annexation by absorbing the interest of so many people.

The Canadian Mission shared in the general increase in church membership which followed these revival movements. We give the figures for 1908, before the effects of the movements were felt, for 1909 and 1911 which show the rapid increase, and for 1915, when the numbers had become more or less stabilized.

	1908	1909	1911	1915
Number of Christian Groups	<u>53</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>310</u>	<u>350</u>
Number of communicants	932	1141	2211	2911
Total of Christian community	3312	5594	11842	12352



The number of groups has risen from 53 in 1908 to 350 in 1915; the number of communicants from 932 to 2911; the total Christian community from 3312 to 12,352. It is abundantly evident that the rapidity and extent of the growth placed a heavy responsibility on the small staff of missionaries and gave urgency to their appeal for re-enforcements.

### Migration of Koreans to Manchuria

It was during this period, also, that the great migration of Koreans to Manchuria took place which compelled our missionaries to re-appraise their responsibility for mission work in Kando - the name given to the section of Manchuria adjoining northeast Korea. "Kando was only a name to us three years ago," wrote Mr. Foote in 1910, "and we never considered it an important part of our field. It was largely unoccupied tract of land, capable under cultivation of sustaining a large population. After the Japanese rule in Korea became oppressive many natives moved there until now some estimate the Korean population at 500,000." This migration continued several years after annexation by Japan, some being driven by famine conditions in Korea, some by loss of their property through expropriation or forced sale, and some because of the simple desire to escape from the humiliation of Japanese rule. Many of the emigrants were Christians who had migrated in groups so that it was not uncommon to find a Christian community in Kando that had been transplanted in toto from some village in Korea.

### Arrival of Rev. J. M. MacLeod

Such were the conditions that prevailed when the first missionary of the Western Division arrived in Korea. Rev. J. M. MacLeod was a highland Scot who had migrated to Canada to complete his studies for the ministry. On graduation from Knox College, Toronto, he offered himself to the Foreign Mission Committee (W.D.), and was appointed their first missionary to Korea. He travelled to Korea via Scotland where he visited his parents in a manse in Stornoway before proceeding to the Orient by the Trans-Siberian railway. He travelled from Vladivostock to Sungjin by coastal steamer, arriving there on November 7, 1909. He was welcomed by Rev. A. R. Ross, Dr. and Mrs. Grierson having left for Vladivostock the previous day to take part in the induction of a Korean pastor there.

On his return to Sungjin Dr. Grierson lost no time in planning an itinerating trip to introduce Mr. MacLeod to his newly acquired mission field in North Korea and Manchuria. They left Sungjin on December 1, and returned shortly before Christmas. During these three strenuous weeks they visited all the strategic points in the northern province and five of the ten Christian groups in Kando, including Yongjung. This was a 'tour de force' which served to impress Mr. MacLeod with the magnitude of his task, and perhaps left with him a sense of his own inadequacy to accomplish it. It undoubtedly confronted him with the unpleasant fact that the mission was sorely divided over the question of continuing Wonsan as a mission station.



The Wonsan Question

We have already referred to the serious division in our mission ranks over the question of withdrawing from Wonsan station. This northern trip revived and re-enforced Dr. Grierson's conviction that nothing short of withdrawal from Wonsan could provide the staff and equipment necessary to cope with the northern work. On his return, he immediately wrote Dr. R. P. MacKay, secretary of the Western Division of the F.M.C., informing him that he has "openly and persistently advocated the closing of Wonsan and the transference of its staff and plant bodily to the north." He compares the area and population of the three Canadian stations and adds: "Your experienced eye will see how small our constituency in Wonsan is to keep open a station for Presbyterianism when the Methodists are cramped for room.. Our keeping Wonsan open under these circumstances is a missionary sin." He also writes his colleagues on the southern stations and later issues a circular letter calling for the closure of Wonsan as a Canadian Mission station.

Mr. Foote takes issue with him. He also writes Dr. MacKay deprecating the persistent raising of the controversial issue as upsetting to the mission and the Korean church, who frequently ask if they are to be abandoned. He points out that Wonsan is a large city where several denominations are at work; that it is only two years since territorial agreement was entered into with the Methodists, with the consent of all the missions; that Wonsan has the strongest Presbyterian constituency of any point in our field; it also has the largest academy for boys, the only academy for girls, and six of the eight theological students from our section of Korea.

The issue was debated at great length and with much heat at the mission council of 1910, and decision reached to refer the matter to the Presbyterian Council. This body, at its fall meeting, decided that since in the division of territory, which was understood to be final, the Wonsan district "was credited to the Presbyterian Church as a whole," no change could be made by any mission unilaterally without consultation with the Presbyterian Council. Thus the matter rested for the present but was to erupt periodically for several years to come.

Meanwhile, missionaries in the Wonsan district do all in their power to encourage and assist Mr. MacLeod in the northern work. Mr. Foote recommends and releases Rev. Kim Yung Chai, an able and experienced Korean pastor, to work with Mr. MacLeod, and himself accompanies them on an itinerary of Christian groups in north Korea and Kando. Mr. MacLeod is greatly enthused over the prospect. "Since Pentecost," he writes, "there has been nothing in the history of the church to equal the work of the Spirit in Korea today." Even the usually cautious and restrained veteran, Mr. Foote, writes the Board that "this is the psychological moment in the Christian history of Kando, and we must have workers."





Additions to the Western Staff

Additions to the staff came in the persons of Dr. and Mrs. T. D. Mansfield, Rev. and Mrs. A. H. Barker, and Rev. and Mrs. D. A. Macdonald, Dr. Mansfield's home was in California, but his parents were former Canadians. He was recommended to the Board by Dr. J. K. McLennan of Winnipeg, a friend of the family, who undertook his support for three years. The Mansfields arrived in Korea on Christmas Day, 1910. Mr. Barker was a graduate of Knox College. He and his wife, a graduate of Toronto University, reached Korea in February 1911. With the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald in February 1912, the first contingent of missionaries from the western division of the church was complete.

Elation over these additions to the staff was rudely dampened by the sudden withdrawal from the field of Mr. MacLeod, after less than eighteen months service. The immediate reason for this action was an appeal from his sick father in Stornoway that he return home. His colleagues did their best to dissuade him but failed, and he left for Scotland on March 18, 1911. It is evident from earlier letters to the Board that he had been under severe emotional strain for some months. A letter dated February 18, speaks of "the mental conflicts of the past year." The Board secretaries interpret this as due to the strain of language study, to an overpowering sense of the magnitude of the task, and to disillusionment regarding the expected "mountain-top experiences of missionary life." It is probable that his sensitive highland spirit was oppressed by the clash of missionary opinion over the Wonsan issue. Under these circumstances the Board did not think it wise to urge his return to Korea.

Opening of Hoiryung and Yongchung as Mission Stations

The mission field allocated to the missionaries of the Western Division comprised eight counties in North Hamkyung province and the districts of Manchuria known as Kando and Hoonchoon. The number of churches already established in this region totalled 44. In consultation with the older missionaries the original aim was to establish three mission stations - at Kyungsung, Hoiryung and Yongjung. Kyungsung was the provincial capital and might have been given priority but for the fact that it was a very conservative centre with only a weak Christian church in existence. Hoiryung claimed consideration because it was a border city of considerable size, used by the Japanese as a garrison town and a centre of trade with Manchuria. It was due for rapid expansion and the Japanese were already buying up all desirable sites. In the spring of 1910 Mr. MacLeod had already purchased two pieces of land in the city, one for missionary residences and one for a medical dispensary. Yongjung was the natural choice for Kando since it was the centre of a rapidly growing Korean population in Manchuria. Eventually Kyungsung dropped out of the picture and Hoiryung and Yongjung became the two prospective centres of missionary residence.



Western Initiative and Drive

Mr. MacLeod's sudden withdrawal from the field caused delay in decision and action. It took the newly arrived Mansfield and Barker some time to gather up the threads, but they tackled the job with an independence and drive that soon made itself felt. One month after Mr. MacLeod's retirement they organized themselves into a Hoiryung station. While residing in Sungjin for language study, they still found time to itinerate the field and plan for the future. At the Annual Mission Council in October they met separately and presented estimates for three residences and a dispensary in Hoiryung, and requested a grant for the purchase of land in Yongjung. By January 1912 they were able to report to the home board that 26 acres of land had been purchased in Yongjung, at a cost of \$500, and an additional 11 acres at Hoiryung for \$700, and that plans were already underway to build two residences and a dispensary in Hoiryung.

In April, after another extensive survey of the field, in which they are accompanied by Mr. Macdonald, just arrived, decision is reached that Hoiryung be the first station to be opened, to be followed, as soon as possible, by one in Yongjung. The home board approved these plans and on May 22, the Barkers moved from Sungjin to Hoiryung to begin construction of missionary residences, and were followed shortly by the Mansfields. Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald remained in Sungjin for language study until October when they joined the other families in Hoiryung.

During the fall of 1912 the Korea mission was favoured with an extended visit from Rev. J. McPherson Scott, a member of the Western Board. Together with Messrs. Barker and Macdonald from Hoiryung and Mr. Robb from Wonsan he made a tour of Kando, and concurred in the conviction that a mission station should be opened in Yongjung without delay. Communication to this effect with the Home Board brought immediate approval, together with a grant for the erection of two residences. With characteristic eagerness and drive, Mr. Barker immediately made preparations to move to Yongjung. He and Mrs. Barker arrived there on June 6, 1913, to reside in a rented Chinese house until a missionary house could be built - the first resident missionary in Yongjung.

Relations Between East and West on the Field

When the Western Division of the F.M.C. opened work in Korea there was no definite understanding regarding the relationship their missionaries would hold to the missionaries of the Eastern division. Naturally, and of necessity, they sought the advice and help of the older missionaries, but from the beginning Mr. MacLeod stressed the fact that he represented another section of the church in Canada. There are frequent references to 'my Board'. This emphasis may have been strengthened by the fact that he was greatly disturbed over the serious clash of missionary opinion on the Wonsan issue.



His successors on the field were made of sterner stuff and were able to determine policies without too great dependence on the older missionaries. As already noted, they organized themselves into a Hoiryung station while still residing in Sungjin, and even at Council meeting they met as a separate group. This inevitably raised the question of the relationship between the two groups. Did the western missionaries constitute a separate mission, or were they supposed to constitute a joint-mission with the missionaries of the Eastern Division? Enquiry from the Western Board brought the reply that "it is not the thought of the Board that there should be two separate councils in close affiliation with each other, but that there should be one mission council."

The decision, however, did not entirely clear the issue. Each board made its own appointments to the field, but mission council could not appoint a western missionary to an eastern station, or vice versa. This particularly affected the southern stations, for though the older missionaries felt obliged to assist in the work of the inexperienced missionaries in the north, their own board will still be unable to send reinforcements for the rapidly expanding work in the south. This led to a reopening of the question of withdrawal from Wonsan. Deadlock over station appointments at the 1912 meeting of annual council led to the arrangements by which each voting member should state in writing his views on four alternatives as follows: (1) that the F.M.C. (E.D.) should immediately increase its staff; (2) that the F.M.C. (W.D.) take over Sungjin station; (3) that the Eastern and Western Divisions of the F.M.C. amalgamate in all the work of the Korea mission; or (4) that the mission withdraw from Wonsan. The replies were to be forwarded to the Boards as received, the western missionaries refraining from voting on the issue.

This unique method of dealing with the issue served to bring the matter more urgently before the home boards. It was discussed at length at the joint meeting of the Eastern and Western Divisions which preceded the General Assembly of June 1913, and led to important decisions which affected both board and mission. Rev. J. McPherson Scott was present and reported enthusiastically on his recent visit to Korea. He advised against withdrawal from Wonsan, since this would break faith with the Northern Presbyterian Mission and with the Korean Church. He urged strongly that the Eastern and Western Divisions of the F.M.C. unite in the administration of the Korea mission. Agreement was reached in the F.M.C. and the General Assembly's approval received for the following resolution:

- "(1) That no portion of the field at present under the care of our church be surrendered;
- (2) That in view of the critical situation in Korea the two sections of the board be instructed to unite in the care of the whole field, and that the church, East and West, assume responsibility for the whole work in Korea;



- (3) That the Eastern and Western sections of the Board together be instructed to bring the urgency in Korea before the whole church with a view to providing such additional workers and equipment as the gravity of the situation and our responsibility under the comity of missions demands."

### Great Extension of Korea Staff and Budget

The Joint-Board immediately proceed to give practical effect to this resolution. They set as their immediate goal the appointment of 4 ordained men, one medical man, and 5 women missionaries. In an effort at appeasement, they also included in their 1914 budget an estimate of \$5,000 for a hospital building in Sungjin, adding that Dr. Grierson be assured that this amount would be available.

News of this decision reached Korea in the midst of their annual council meeting in Hoiryung, and as one missionary wrote, "it worked wonders in bringing about harmony," so that council proceeded "from beginning to end in a spirit of cheer and optimism." The mission adopted a recommendation "that on the field here, we at this meeting discontinue all distinctions of east and west, and in all details of our work deliberate as though there were no distinction of east or west." The only reservation was "that none of the missionaries appointed by the western board before the date of administrative union be diverted from the stations for which they were originally intended, unless so ordered by the united board."

### List of New Missionary Appointments

The extent to which the 'united board' was able to fulfil its promise of reinforcements can be judged from the fact that in the two years following amalgamation no fewer than 15 new missionaries arrived on the field, the largest accession to the staff in the history of the Korea Mission. Their names and the year of their appointment are as follows:

Rev. and Mrs. S. J. Proctor	1913	
Miss E. M. Smith	1913	
Miss E. A. McLellan	1913	
Miss E. B. McEachern	1913	
Miss J. B. Kirk	1913	
Miss M. E. McFarlane	1913	
Rev. and Mrs. E.J.O. Fraser	1914	
Rev. D. W. McDonald	1914	
Rev. and Mrs. William Scott	1914	
Miss Edna Cruikshanks	1914	
Miss Maud Mackinnon	1914	(arrived in Korea 1915)
Mrs. D. W. McDonald	1914	(arrived in Korea 1915)

The Board had exceeded their goal with the exception of a medical man, but this gap was filled by the appointment of Dr. and Mrs. S. H. Martin in 1916.





Elimination of Eastern and Western Divisions and  
the Establishment of One Foreign Mission Board for the Canadian Church

The success of the amalgamation of the eastern and western board in the administration of the affairs of the Korea Mission led to a change in the Home Board of still greater significance. In 1914, the Western Division of F.M.C. made the further proposal that there be one administrative board for all the foreign mission work of the church. This proposal was welcomed by the Eastern Division, endorsed by the Maritime Synod and approved by the General Assembly of 1914 which ordered: "That the whole church, East and West, assume equal responsibility for all its foreign fields, and that the foreign mission income, east and west, be placed under this one Board."

In the 1915 General Assembly minutes, for the first time, the F.M.C. appears as a "Board" of the church, and makes its report without the usual division into Eastern and Western sections. The long and often bitter conflict of opinion within the Korea mission had not only brought extensive additions to the staff, but had also served to abolish distinctions of east and west in the foreign mission work of the Canadian Presbyterian Church.

Harmony in Korea

In Korea itself, by 1913, the mission was operating from five centres. Wonsan, Hamheung, Sungjin, Hoiryung and Yongjung. Additions to the staff made the manning of these stations less difficult, and the distinction of east and west had so far vanished that by 1914 Mr. Foote, an Easterner, was transferred from his old station of Wonsan to the newly established station of Yongjung, and by 1915 Dr. Mansfield, a Westerner, was transferred from Hoiryung to Wonsan.

Chapter 9

ANNEXATION AND THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

The decade following annexation was marked by events that greatly affected the mission and the Korean church. Annexation itself disillusioned many who had entered the church for political reasons and led to a purging of church rolls. The hostility of Japanese officials bore heavily on Christian groups, discouraging new converts and slowing up the rate of increase. What came to be called "The Conspiracy Case" brought all Christians under suspicion. The opening of well-equipped government schools and hospitals robbed the missions of whatever prestige they had enjoyed as pioneers in these fields. Government measures regulating religion, education and medicine brought church and mission under stricter supervision. The end of the first world war led to a nation-wide movement for independence which



brought repressive measures and, eventually, a more enlightened government policy.

### Harshness of Japanese Colonial Rule

The formal annexation of Korea in August 1910, enabled the Japanese to consolidate the position they already held through several years of military occupation. The Korean army was already disbanded and the country garrisoned by Japanese troops. Military police (gendarmes) continued to function and claimed, on security grounds, jurisdiction in civilian affairs. The regular police were re-organized under Japanese officers and strengthened by the addition of Japanese personnel. Key positions in the government offices - central, provincial and county - were filled by Japanese nationals, recruited from Japan and unfamiliar with Korean language, culture or daily affairs, Japanese became the official language, and contact with officialdom had to be made through interpreters.

These changes spelled trouble for the missionary and the Korean Christians. The goodwill built up through years of contact with Korean officials, speaking their language, was replaced by distrust on the part of the Japanese official. Christianity was an alien religion to him, and the Christian church a foreign organization, of which he knew nothing except that it was the best organized, most alert and highly influential group in the country, whose members were incessantly active in their efforts to win converts. He was naturally suspicious of something he did not understand and which he felt he could not fully control. Nor could he forget that the Korean who had assassinated Prince Ito, the first Resident-General, had been a Christian. Even the most sympathetically disposed official could hardly avoid noting the warm cordiality that existed between the Korean Christian and his missionary friend, in contrast with the attitude of resentment he and his Japanese colleagues encountered everywhere.

Whatever may be said of those in higher rank, it is true that petty officials in the provinces, especially the military police, were generally harsh and overbearing in their attitude to and treatment of Korean Christians. Dr. Arthur J. Brown, Secretary of the Northern Presbyterian Board of Missions, could write in 1912: "For more than two years, reports have reached us from various parts of the country of growing suspicion and harshness by Japanese local gendarmes towards the helpless Korean Christians. Pastors were required to report the names of converts at police headquarters. A Gendarme entered a private house, drew his sword threateningly and asked why the owner had joined the 'Jesus Church' the night before. Shopkeepers closing their places of business on Sunday, who were Christians, were visited by police and remonstrated with. In one country church, a Japanese walked into the pulpit during a Sunday service and denounced Christianity to the congregation." (The Conspiracy Case, pp. 6, 8, 9.) The writer personally remembers the closing exercises of our mission



school in Hoiryung, in 1918. The Japanese principal of the Government public school was invited to be present and address the school. He was dressed in full regalia, military-like uniform, including short sword. He strutted to the platform, placed his cap on the desk and delivered a tirade against the Christian religion and Christian schools, and ended by asserting that the sole aim of Korean education was to produce loyal citizens of his imperial majesty, the Emperor of Japan.

### The Conspiracy Case

This attitude of official suspicion and antagonism probably accounts for "The Conspiracy Case" which held the public interest during 1912-13. On April 1, 1913, 123 Koreans from different sections of the country were arraigned before the procurator's court in Seoul, charged with conspiracy against the life of Count Terauchi, the Governor-General. 80 of these were Christians. On September of that year, 105 of them were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, the only evidence against them being confessions that had been extracted by torture. An appeal to a higher court brought a new trial which ended in the acquittal of all but six who were sentenced to reduced prison terms. It was generally believed that these sentences were imposed not on the basis of guilt but as a face-saving expedient on the part of the government. The trial served to show that the Christian community bore a major share of the humiliation and agony of subject rule. This undoubtedly won the sympathy and goodwill of many non-Christians, but it also prevented many a timid soul from allying himself with the Christian church.

Under the Korean regime the missions were allowed to preach and to establish churches, schools and hospitals with little or no control by the government. With the establishment of the Government-General all this was changed. The new regime was a highly centralized bureaucratic system, aimed at bringing every phase of Korean life under government supervision and control. Measures that affected the work and status of the missions and the churches included: (1) regulations governing religious propaganda, (2) the establishment of a government system of schools and hospitals, and (3) measures directly affecting private schools.

### Regulations Affecting Religious Propaganda

In 1915, an ordinance was passed regulating religious propaganda, which required "all persons desiring to engage in religious propaganda to report to the Governor-General the name of the religion and its particular denomination, an outline of its teaching and the method of propaganda, accompanied with personal references proving them to have the qualifications as a preacher." Official permission was required for the building of any church or other structure to be used for religious purposes.

The provisions of this ordinance seem reasonable enough, especially since they were to apply to all religions. But it is easy to



see how their application by local officials who were suspicious of Christians and prejudiced against Christianity could lead to constant harassment of Christian workers and to the intimidation of communities which might welcome them. This is actually what happened, to the serious detriment of the work and the slowing down of the rate of increase in church membership.

### Government Schools and Hospitals

For the first time since the opening of Protestant missions in Korea, they now had to face competition in education and medicine. The missions had held the distinction of having introduced modern education and medical practice to Korea, and for several decades they had provided most of the schools and hospitals operating in the country. This was undoubtedly a factor in winning converts to the faith. In 1907, the total enrollment in government schools was only 6,294, as compared with 14,189 in Christian schools. In 1910 the numbers stood at 15,774 in government schools to 22,963 in Christian schools. From that time on, however, the Government-General, with great vigour and thoroughness, launched a public school system that, by 1918, showed an enrollment three times as large as that of the Christian schools, and which eventually covered most of the country.

The same was true in medicine. Until annexation, practically the only provision for hospital care and modern medical practice was found in mission hospitals. From 1910, however, the Government-General initiated a public health program centering in charity hospitals established in each province. These hospitals were well equipped and manned by medical specialists, and supported on a scale beyond anything the missions could contemplate. As early as 1914, Dr. Mansfield wrote from Hoiryung that "the Japanese have opened a hospital here with a free clinic, with six graduate doctors and a staff of twenty. They are doing good work and it is a pity that we have to compete with them. They do not view our work or plans with kindly eye. They consider us as interlopers ... and there is much truth in their contention." So strongly did Dr. Mansfield hold this conviction that mission medical work was abandoned in Hoiryung, and from 1915, he was transferred to Wonsan to engage in union medical work there.

### Regulations for Private Schools

A still more serious concern to the missions was the issuing, in 1915, of regulations to govern private schools. These required that private schools be operated "by financial juridical person in possession of estates sufficient for their establishment and maintenance;" that they teach the same subjects and maintain the same standard as government schools; that they do not add any subject to the prescribed curriculum of studies; that teachers be qualified in the subjects they teach, and "be well versed in the national language (Japanese);" and that detailed reports be submitted annually to the Government-General. By a supplementary clause, schools already operating were given ten years grace before these regulations would be applied to them.





It was evident that mission schools were faced with a crisis in their educational work. The provision that caused most concern was that which forbade the addition of any subject to the curriculum. This would deny them the right to give religious instruction; the basic principle of the separation of religion and education being applied to private and public schools alike. A matter of greater concern from the purely educational point of view the standards required by the new regulations. This would demand more adequate school buildings and equipment, a supply of Christian teachers fully qualified and able to teach in the Japanese language, and financial support sufficient for these needs. In short, it would require the missions to take their educational responsibilities much more seriously than they had done hitherto.

The extent to which our own mission had failed to do this can be judged from the following facts. In 1914 the mission was operating two boys' high schools and five girls' primary schools. No girls' high school was yet in existence, and boys' primary schools were run entirely by the Korean church. All seven mission schools were housed in makeshift buildings, with little or no equipment, and with inadequate financial support. The total grant for the seven schools was \$2,800, distributed as follows: Boys' High Schools: Wonsan \$500, Hamheung \$1,000; Girls Primary Schools: Wonsan, Hamheung and Sungjin \$300 each, Hoiryung and Yongjung \$200. each.

Nothing could be more revealing than the pathetic appeal to the F.M.B., inserted in the mission minutes of 1914. We quote in full:

"Wonsan, Korea, July 1914.

To the Members of the Foreign Mission Board,  
Dear Sirs,

In repeating the request for \$100 made last year for equipment for the Hamheung Girls' School, not granted, we would respectfully bring before you the following facts.

First, the standard set by the government schools makes it absolutely necessary to furnish desks and seats for pupils and teachers. All other schools in the city have them.

Second, hoping our modest request would be granted, we have provided seats and desks for the older pupils, but two classes are still obliged to sit on the floor. We have no desks or chairs for our teachers, and no seats for the Japanese officials or other visitors who may come to the school. Some wall maps, a globe, and a few such articles for use in teaching, with some study and dining tables for the dormitory, are, in our judgment, necessary articles of equipment.

Respectfully submitted,  
Hamheung Station."



In response to this and similar appeals the home Board did increase grants, especially for Girls' Schools, but only as a palliative measure and not with any serious intent of meeting the requirements laid down by the new regulations. Not till the end of World War I were the Boards able to face their educational responsibilities and provide the necessary funds to restore mission schools to a place of respect and influence in Korean life.

### World War I

When World War I broke out in August 1914, Korea was slowly recovering from the first shock of despair following upon annexation. By this time she was beginning to benefit from the extensive public works program initiated by the new Japanese Government-General. Schools, hospitals and other public buildings were in process of erection; railroads, harbours and highways were being improved and extended. Jobs were plentiful and new money in wide circulation. Improved methods of farming and fishing began to show greatly increased production. By 1916, the rice crop had increased 50% over the total yield before annexation; the number of cattle kept by Korean farmers had doubled, as had also the value of marine products. It is true that the greater profit went to the Japanese contractor and exporter, but Korea shared in the good times that accompanied the war.

Japan's military involvement in the war was limited to the capture of Tsingtao from the Germans in November 1914. Thereafter she entered a period of unparalleled prosperity, manufacturing war materials and supplying foostuffs for the allies and keeping open the lines of communication between the Far East and the European theatre of war. Korea's share in this prosperity was confined to the greater demand for her natural products - rice, soya beans, cowhides and fish. Export of these products brought more income to farm and fishing villages, but it also brought higher prices for foodstuffs at home which, in turn, worked hardship on the city people. Korea was still dependent on imports for many necessities, and the price of such articles as cotton cloth for clothing and coal oil for lamps soared beyond the pockets of all but the comfortable rich.

### Church Work During the War Years

In church work, the war years may be regarded as years of consolidation rather than expansion. The traditional emphasis on evangelism and personal religion still held, but, owing to official disfavour, the widespread preaching of the revival years was replaced by the person-to-person form of appeal. Twenty nine new groups were reported in the Canadian mission territory between the years 1913 and 1919, and an increase of 3,180 in the total Christian community.

The major emphasis was directed towards deepening the Christian experience of existing groups. Bible classes for men and women,



extending over seven to ten days, had long been the practice. From 1915, the more ambitious scheme of holding one month Bible institutes was initiated, with institutes established at Wonsan, Hamheung, Sungjin and Yongjung (the last named to serve the two northern stations). A uniform curriculum of studies was adopted and the dates of the institutes so arranged that an exchange of guest teachers could be made. By this means Christian groups throughout the country became closely knit, highly literate, well versed in biblical knowledge, in church history and church government, and well disciplined in mind and spirit.

### Appreciation of the Church's Contribution

The influence of the church on the general community, though less spectacular than during the revival years, was nonetheless real, and can be judged from an article that appeared in the July 1917 issue of a non-Christian magazine in Seoul, the Chung-Choon. The article was entitled "The Benefits Christianity Has Conferred on Korea," and came from the pen of Mr. Yi Kwang Soo, who later became one of the leading authors of the day. Mr. Yi lists the following benefits: Christianity has introduced Korea to Western affairs; has quickened the moral sense of the people; has pioneered in modern education; raised the status of women; helped abolish the harmful custom of early marriage; encouraged literacy by the use of the native script in public and private devotions; has stimulated intellectual awakening along social and ethical lines; has developed a sense of personal worth, and of the basic equality in status and dignity of different classes, sexes and nations. It is true that he speaks as an outsider and admits that 'to the religionist' these benefits are but the by-product of the primary task of winning souls for the kingdom of heaven. But he recognizes that the Christian groups, scattered here and there throughout the land, were acting like leaven which causes a ferment that involves all of life. Evidence of this was to be forthcoming when the Korean people carried through their peaceful demonstration for independence in 1919.

### The Independence Movement

To the Korean people, the most significant fact of World War I was the opportunity it offered them of staging an independence demonstration on March 1, 1919. During the war they had shared the general revulsion against German militarism; at its close they responded with hope to President Wilson's appeal for self-determination for subject peoples. Korean patriots met secretly and planned ways and means of appealing to the moral sense of the victorious allies.

Two current events made the time seem auspicious; the death of the last Emperor of Korea, and the Peace Conference then in session in Paris. The Emperor, who had been forcibly deposed ten years before, was to be given a state funeral on March 3. What better



means than this of focussing again the thoughts of all Koreans on their national humiliation? Moreover, all international issues, so they thought, would receive just settlement at the Peace Conference. Provided that the subject peoples could make their complaint known.

Thus took shape one of the most remarkable revolutionary movements of all time - remarkable (1) because it was non-violent and (2) because it was carried through with such efficiency. The movement was headed by a committee of 33, most of them religious leaders. Fifteen were Christian preachers, fifteen were leaders of the Chundo Kyo (a native religion associated with the Tonghaks), and three were Buddhists. These men, as a matter of principle, and also realizing the futility of violence in a country so strongly garrisoned and policed as Korea, strictly enjoined on the people to avoid the use of violence. "Let there be no violence," read their manifesto, "no insults to the Japanese; no hitting with the fists, or throwing of stones, for these are the acts of barbarians." Knowing that the Japanese would expect trouble on March 3, the day of the funeral, they chose March 1 as the day for their peaceful demonstration.

The organization centered in the capital, but it had branches in every province, city, town and village. Couriers travelled secretly, carrying instruction, information and pamphlets to every locality. So thorough was the work done and so loyal the workers, that no hint of it was divulged to the Japanese authorities. The 33 leaders in Seoul drew up and signed a Declaration of Independence, couched in restrained language, and breathing something of the idealism of the day. Two sentences may help reveal the temper of the men who signed it: "Independence for us today ... means Japan's departure from an unjust way to one in which she may truly assume the great responsibility of the protector of the Far East.... It means, too, a step toward the peace and happiness of the whole human race in which the peace of the Far East is so important a part." The people in every district were instructed to meet at a designated place, at a given hour, to make and bring with them a small Korean flag, to listen to the reading of the Declaration of Independence, to shout Chosun Tongnip Mansai (Long Live Korean Independence), to take part in a peaceful parade and to return home quietly. The demonstration was carried out in accordance with the instructions and with remarkable efficiency and unanimity.

### Japanese Reaction

The reaction of the Japanese authorities was swift and furious. Taken completely by surprise, and motivated by humiliation and fear of what might happen, Japanese military, police and civilians joined in an orgy of terrorism which resulted in many thousands of Koreans losing their lives and tens of thousands being imprisoned. It is to





the credit of the missions that, despite the danger of reprisals from Japanese extremists, they boldly denounced the brutality and atrocities and so aroused world opinion that a change of government took place and a more enlightened colonial policy introduced. The letter which our own Canadian mission addressed to the Governor-General may serve as a record of what actually took place.

"To His Excellency Field Marshal Hasegawa,  
Governor-General of Chosen, Seoul.

We, the members of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in Annual Meeting at Wonsan, July 10th, 1919, feel compelled by the common dictates of humanity to record our emphatic protest against the unjust and inhuman methods that have been employed by the Japanese administration in their suppression of the present political agitation in Chosen, and do hereby respectfully submit the same to your Excellency.

Such atrocities as:

Shooting and bayonetting of defenceless men, women and children.

Clubbing of Koreans by Japanese civilians.

Brutal attacks upon peaceful demonstrators by Japanese firemen armed with firehooks.

Inexcusable neglect of wounded and dying demonstrators.

Detention of suspected persons for indefinite periods before trial under most unsanitary conditions.

Use of torture during police examination.

Indecent treatment of women under detention.

Punishment of offenders by the barbarous method of police beating.

Burning of villages and wanton destruction of property.

Massacre at Chai-am-ni.

Ferocious methods of terrifying whole communities.

Unjust discrimination against Christians.

Outrages that violate every generous human sentiment and are so contrary to the fundamental laws and practices of civilized nations that they cannot be too strongly condemned.

We have considered it necessary to make known these facts to the Foreign Mission Board of our Presbyterian Church in Canada, and we do not hesitate to make our protest to your Excellency because we feel that not only do these injustices reflect upon the honour of Japan but upon us who are British subjects in special treaty relationships with Japan.

Signed on behalf of the Mission."



It is worth noting that the first authentic report of the uprising and its brutal repression was carried to America by Rev. A. L. Armstrong, Assistant-Secretary of our F.M.B. Mr. Armstrong had spent several months in Korea the previous year, and was then visiting our mission fields in China. Learning of the uprising he immediately returned to Korea and was on hand to hear reports and to receive statements from participants and eye-witnesses, which he carried personally to America, cutting short his visit to other fields in order to do so.

### Results of the Independence Movement

The Independence Movement, while failing to achieve its primary objective, had a marked effect on the Korean situation. (1) It gave the Korean people a new sense of dignity and national pride. They had given voice to their national aspirations, and had organized and carried through a peaceful demonstration, in face of cruel reprisals, and had borne the consequences heroically. (2) It demonstrated that the Christian church was a vital force in the nation's life, sharing the aspirations and the agonies of their people, bringing moral judgment to bear on tyranny and brutality, and, through the missions, making its voice heard around the world. (3) It brought the force of world opinion to bear on the Japanese government which led to the recall of the existing administration in Korea and its replacement by one that initiated many desirable changes.

### New Reform Under the Saito Administration

The new Governor-General was Admiral Makoto Saito, an able and benevolent administrator, who immediately set about removing causes of abuse and winning the goodwill of the Korean people. His administration took office in August 1919, and initial orders to all higher officials, issued on September 3, contain the following words: "The purport of the revised official organization is to enlarge the application of the principle of universal brotherhood, which is the keynote of the Imperial Rescript recently issued ... The Koreans and Japanese must be treated alike as members of the same family."

This, of course, was not what the Koreans wanted, but even this ideal was never fully realized. However, certain welcome reforms were carried out, among which were the following: the transfer of police administration from the military to a civil bureau; modification of the military-like uniforms of public officials; safeguarding of individual rights in requisitioning labour; relaxation of restrictions on the press; Korean judges given the right to function in criminal as well as in civil cases; abolition of flogging as a legal form of punishment; Koreans permitted to qualify as principals of common schools; program for public school education speeded up; terms of common schools extended from 4 to 6 years and of higher common schools from 4 to 5 years, to equal that of Japanese schools. Regulations directly affecting church and mission included the relaxation of the regulations relating to the establishment of churches and the registration of church workers; and the granting to foreign missions the right to hold property under a legal holding body.



## Growing Confidence of the Korean Church

The Korean church emerged from the Independence Movement with a new awareness of inner strength and of enlarged responsibility. Christians had participated in an enterprise that required the exercise of administrative ability and moral fortitude; and they had done so without the knowledge or help of the missionary. This had been a movement of Koreans for Korea. They now realized as never before, that the church, too, was a Korean church, and that Koreans were responsible, under God, for pressing the work. Even the disruption of church and school work, due to the wholesale arrest of pastors and teachers, had not slowed down the task. Prison cells had provided unique opportunities for witnessing to the faith, and many compatriots who entered the prison as non-believers came out as Christians.

Moreover, Korean leaders soon discovered that the general public were now more favourably inclined towards Christianity. People knew and appreciated the part Korean Christians had played in the Independence Movement, not only through their constancy in face of persecution, but also in their emphasis upon the moral issues involved. All of which explains, why, from this on, the Korean church becomes more independent in relation to the mission, making its voice heard in the formation of policies, urging a more vigorous program not only in evangelistic work but in hospital and school work, and requesting increased missionary staff and financial support from the home board. Fortunately, the end of World War I brought a Forward Movement to the Canadian church which gave both mission and Korea church the promise of greatly enlarged support. This will be the subject of the next chapter, but meanwhile reference should be made to three other items of interest.

## The Kando Punitive Expedition

As an aftermath of the Korean Independence Movement the Japanese military undertook, in October 1920, a punitive expedition against Koreans in Kando. They had long been eager to suppress lawless activities of Korean extremists and Chinese bandits who operated in the districts of Manchuria bordering on North Korea. Korean outlaws had burned the Japanese consulate in Yongjung in the spring of 1920. Following their example, Chinese bandits burned the Japanese consulate in Hoon-choon in September of that year.

These incidents gave the Japanese a pretext for sending 6000 troops into the district, but instead of simply cleaning up the strongholds of outlaws they undertook to punish the Korean population as a whole. Christian villages bore the brunt of their hostility and several of them were completely wiped out and church leaders terrorized. When Mr. Foote, on behalf of the missionary staff in Kando, made a strong protest, the Japanese military responded by accusing the Canadian missionaries of aiding and abetting the outlaws. This raised a diplomatic incident which led to an investigation which exonerated the missionaries and eventually led to a bettering of conditions for the Korean population generally.



## Work Among Koreans in Siberia

Missionary supervision of the work among Koreans in Siberia fell to the Canadian Mission because of the proximity of our field of Vladivostock. For several decades, and especially during famine years, Koreans had migrated into Siberia, so that by 1910 the Korean population in the Maritime region around Vladivostock was estimated at 300,000. In 1909, the recently organized Korean Presbytery, eager for a field of service outside its national bounds, decided to open a mission in Vladivostock, and appointed Rev. Choi Kwan Heul their first missionary to that work. They also requested Dr. Grierson, the foreign missionary nearest to Vladivostock, to assist in Mr. Choi's induction service. This explains why he and Mrs. Grierson were absent from Sungjin when Mr. MacLeod, the first missionary from the Western Board, arrived in Korea, November 1909.

Though the Siberian work was a missionary enterprise of the Korean church it soon became evident that missionary supervision would be advisable in view of pressures exerted by Russian officials and Orthodox clergy. By 1911, Mr. Choi had succumbed and defected to the Russian church, and his successors had difficulty resisting the temptation to moral laxity and ecclesiastical conformity. In 1913, the General Assembly of the Korean church asked the Hamkyung Presbytery to assume supervisory powers over the Siberian work. From this time on the Canadian mission became officially involved, and each year some missionary was appointed by mission council to visit Vladivostock and vicinity, accompanying Korean brethren usually appointed by the Presbytery.

In 1918, the allied troops occupied Vladivostock to protect White Russians and contain the Red Army advance eastward, and also to forestall any move by Japan to take advantage of the disturbed conditions that followed the Russian revolution. The time seemed ripe for the appointment of a missionary for the Siberian work. Rev. A. E. Armstrong who was then visiting the field approved such a step and encouraged the Korean brethren to expect it. The nearest we came to implementing this promise was the appointment, in 1921, of "Mr. Foote to Hoiryung station to reside in Vladivostock for as much time as the station considers advisable, until next annual meeting, with a view to opening a station there as soon as possible, depending upon the Home Church sending out the necessary workers." The following year, 1922, Dr. Foote's assignment of work reads as follows: "Missionary to Siberia, to assist the (Korean) General Assembly in its home missions work there." Unfortunately, the capture and occupation of Vladivostock and Siberia by Communist troops, in 1922, made an end of all visitation and participation in the Siberian work.

## Brief Venture in Union Work

The agreement between missions on the division of territory left the city of Wonsan a common centre of work for both the Canadian mission and the Methodist Episcopal South mission. The cordial relations that existed between members of these missions made co-operation in various





lines of work possible. A Union High School for boys was run, 1912-1920, under a charter held by the Canadian mission, with each mission contributing equally to the expenses. In 1915, the Canadian mission responded to repeated requests from the Methodist mission for co-operation in medical work in Wonsan, and transferred Dr. T. D. Mansfield from Hoiryung to Wonsan for that purpose. Co-operation continued successfully until the end of World War I when it became evident that certain mission boards favoured a world-wide denominational emphasis. By 1920, Dr. Mansfield could write that both he and Dr. Ross, his Methodist colleague, felt that "there was a much better chance of the work getting the backing it needed under single control than in union work." The Union Hospital then reverted to Methodist control. It is probable that the same motive accounts for the fact that the Methodist Mission withdrew from the Women's Union Bible Institute in Wonsan which had been carried jointly with our mission since 1915. From 1921, Methodist women workers were trained in the newly established Union Methodist Woman's Bible Training School in Seoul.

#### Relating to Mission Personnel

During the decade under review many changes took place in the mission personnel. In 1919, the first break in our mission staff by death took place when Mrs. L. L. Young died in Hamheung after a long illness. This was followed, in 1920, by the sad and unexpected death in childbirth of Mrs. Robert Grierson, one of the pioneers of our mission. Two years later, in 1922, Dr. Kate McMillan died at her post in Hamheung, of typhus fever contracted from student patients she had laboured to save. The first death of a child of the mission was that of John Foote, who died in 1909 at the age of seven. Two children of Rev. and Mrs. Robb died during this period, Marion aged 6, in 1910, and Alexander, aged 2, in 1912.

Losses by retirement from the mission included Rev. J. M. McLeod who returned to Scotland in 1911; Miss Ethel MacFarlane and Miss E. M. Smith, both of whom retired in 1915 for health reasons; and Miss Edna Cruikshank who retired in 1916 to become the wife of Mr. Henry Hylton.

In the preceding chapter we recorded the additions to the staff down to the appointment of Dr. and Mrs. Martin in 1916. In the same year the mission welcomed to Korea Miss E. M. Palethorpe and Miss G. L. Cass, as evangelistic missionaries, and Dr. F. W. Schofield, as professor of bacteriology in Severance Union Medical College. In 1917, Miss Mary Thomas, evangelistic, and Miss Alice Bligh, educational, were appointed; as also were Rev. and Mrs. Milton Jack, who transferred from the Formosa Mission to head up an agricultural experimental course at the Chosun Christian College. The appointments of Dr. Schofield and Mr. Jack were made by the F.M.B. as a token of our co-operation in union work in Korea and to help enable these two colleges qualify for government recognition.



Chapter 10FORWARD MOVEMENTS AND CANADIAN CHURCH UNION

As already mentioned, the Independence Movement brought to the Korean people a new self-respect and self-confidence. It united them not only in patriotic fervour but also in an intense desire for a better life. The Korean church shared in this and acquired a new awareness of its place in the nation as an organization of considerable size and influence. It spoke boldly a message of hope for the times, and found many willing to hear and respond. It resulted also in a heightened sense of its own autonomous position in relation to the missions, and a corresponding sense of responsibility before the nation for policies and standards of work carried on in the name of the Christian church.

The Korean Church Forward Movement

Despite the serious loss of leadership by imprisonment, the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church met in the fall of 1919, and following the example of the churches of the west launched a Forward Movement based on a three-year program: First year, Prayer and Preparation; Second year, Evangelistic effort; Third year, Emphasis on Sunday School work.

The first year's program was well suited to the conditions of the time, for it enabled those in prison to join with their fellow-Christians outside. Prayer was the order of the day, and of the night. The prayer life of the imprisoned leaders greatly enriched their Christian experience, and won many of their fellow prisoners to the faith. The general call to prayer was welcomed by the church at large as an opportunity to pray not only for their absent leaders, but also for a revival of religion throughout the country.

The evangelistic effort of the second and succeeding years brought good results. The times were ripe for it. Through the Independence Movement the Korean people as a whole had experienced a spiritual awakening of a sort. What they now needed was that faith in God that had produced the integrity, courage and dedication they had seen displayed by so many Christians. During 1920-21, revival meetings were held in most of the large centres in our Canadian field, led by Rev. Kim Ik Too, an able Korean evangelist. The measures of success may be judged by reference to the fact that the number of churches in our field rose from 254 in 1919 to 405 in 1923, while the total Christian community increased from 13,600 to 22,721.

New Emphasis on Sunday School Work

The decision to devote the third year of the Forward Movement to a new emphasis on Sunday School work may have been prompted by the fact that the 8th World Sunday School Convention was called to meet in Tokyo in 1920. Unfortunately, the political situation made it impossible for Koreans to attend. Only three registered at the Convention.



However, Korea greatly benefited from post-convention visits from several prominent delegates. The emphasis on Sunday School work was welcomed because it coincided with a growing conviction in the Korean church that the times called for growth in depth as well as growth in numbers. Bible study had always been required of professing Christians but little attention had been paid to the training of teachers in Sunday Schools.

The movement led to many desirable changes; the organization, in 1922, of the Korean Sunday School Association, with representation from all churches and missions; the adoption of a Standard of Excellence for Sunday Schools; the organization of national conventions and district rallies; the establishment of teachers' training courses in Bible Institutes and local churches, and the production of more adequate lesson helps and teacher-training texts.

Great assistance was rendered by the appointment, in 1920, of Rev. J. G. Holdcroft, a Northern Presbyterian missionary, as General Secretary for Sunday School work throughout Korea. Three years later, Rev. Chung In Kwa, an able Korean pastor, was appointed Assistant Secretary, and gave excellent leadership for many years. The Canadian Mission responded to the new emphasis by appointing a Director of Religious Education for our field. Rev. Kim Kwan Sik, on his return from postgraduate study abroad in 1925, was the first to hold this position, and was later succeeded by Rev. Cho Iii Ryum, also a post-graduate student.

#### Growth of Korean Church Finance

We have already referred to the marked growth in the number of churches and Christians in our territory during the early 1920's. The growth in the financial support of the church was no less remarkable. This undoubtedly reflects the prosperity that accompanied the war years, despite the fact that the year 1918 was a 'famine' year in north Korea. The first object of increased givings was a concern for the appearance of church buildings. Larger, more substantial and more beautiful churches began to appear throughout the country. In our own field the expenditure for church buildings rose from \$3,648 in 1918 to \$18,668 in 1923. Concern also for more adequate support of church workers is evident in the givings for pastors and evangelists. In 1918 the total was only \$4,522. By 1923 it had risen to \$30,975. The above figures are Korean givings only.

#### Growth in Local Autonomy

From this period, also, dates a marked growth in church autonomy. The Korean church was emerging from mission tutelage. During the initial stage of mission work, direction and control necessarily centered in the missions, since the number of Christians was small and the Christian church, its faith and organization, was new to them. The first Koreans to hold office in the church were elders, elected by fully organized congregations and holding powers over their own local affairs. Then came the first Presbytery in our mission - the Hamkyung



Presbytery - organized in 1911 and composed of 5 Korean pastors, 7 missionaries and an equal number of elders. In 1917, the Presbytery was divided into two - The South Hamkyung and the North Hamkyung Presbyteries, but the missionaries still outnumbered the Korean pastors by 12 to 8. By 1921, however, when the third presbytery - the Kando Presbytery (later named the Tong-man Presbytery) came into being, the number of Korean pastors in our field had risen to 24 as compared with 14 ordained missionaries. Moreover, by this time, the Presbyters, both pastors and elders, had become well versed in Presbyterian doctrine and polity, efficient in church administration and proud of their position and function.

This growth in self-government was welcomed by the mission, though it still related almost exclusively to church affair. Schools and hospitals remained under mission control. Hospitals were to continue so for many years to come without provoking any marked concern - the place of the hospital as a witness to the divine compassion was still unrealized except, perhaps, in homes where there was sickness. Schools were in another category. Every family had sons and daughters who must go to school, and with the newly awakened national pride, none but the best was good enough for them. The Independence Movement had sparked a popular demand for education that became so insistent that presbyteries boldly echoed it in their appeals to the mission for more and better Christian schools. This appeal was further re-enforced by the government's insistence that all schools must reach the standards set by 1925.

#### The Forward Movement in Canada

Fortunately, these appeals came at a time when the mission was in a better position to meet them than at any other time in her history. The end of World War I had brought a revival of interest in the work of the church at home and abroad. In 1918, the major denominations in Canada co-operated in a Forward Movement which aimed at re-enlisting the wartime energies of their members in the peacetime work of the church. In June of that year, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church launched their Forward Movement, with a financial goal of Four Million Dollars as a Peace Thank-offering, \$600,000 of which was earmarked for foreign missions.

Rev. A. E. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary of the Board was immediately commissioned to visit the mission field to explain the Forward Movement and to assist in drawing up a comprehensive list of urgent needs. He arrived in Korea in July while the mission council was in session. He stayed in Korea several months, visiting all parts of the field and bringing great encouragement to the missionaries and their Korean colleagues.

The Forward Movement, though at first hampered by the disastrous 'flu' epidemic of 1918, and by competing 'victory' campaigns, eventually succeeded beyond expectations. The amount subscribed exceeded the original objective by \$1½ millions, and by December 1923, the treasurer could report funds received amounting to \$4,159,762. There-





after, receipts were slowed down by the division in Presbyterian ranks over the church union question.

### Korea Benefits from Forward Movement Funds

The extent to which Korea benefitted from Forward Movement funds can be judged by a comparison of the building grants received during the four years of war and those received during the four years after the war. From 1914-18, building grants totalled less than \$40,000. From 1919-23 they exceeded \$200,000. This enabled the mission to begin the most extensive building program in her history; schools, hospitals and dormitories, long overdue, were provided, and the mission enabled to meet the standards required by the government and expected by the general public.

From this time dates the purchase of additional land on all stations required for building sites and school playgrounds; the erection of 3 girls' schools, 2 boys' academies; the Martha Wilson Bible Training School and dormitory; Bible Institute buildings and dormitories on several stations; the completion of the hospital in Yongjung and the extension of the hospital in Hamheung, with equipment for both; the installation of furnaces in schools, hospitals and residences; and grants towards the capital accounts of the Chosun Christian College and the Pyengyang Theological Seminary.

It may be interesting to note that the only missionary residence built with Forward Movement funds was the Seoul residence which was built in 1920-21, at a cost of \$10,000, the site having been previously purchased for \$3,200. This is the only prewar property still in mission possession, the rest being in North Korea under communist occupation.

### Forward Movement Funds for Educational Work

It will be evident that the bulk of Forward Movement funds was used for the building of schools and dormitories. This was in line with the most significant trend of the times. The Independence Movement had alerted the country to the need for education, and the demand for it far exceeded the physical capacity to meet it. According to the Government-General statistics, the number of Korean students in all schools, public and private, rose from 152,648 in 1920 to 222,007 in 1921, an increase of 45%. During the same period the number of students in Christian schools rose from 28,803 to 53,821, an increase of 87%. The increase was met, first by overcrowding, but also by a vigorous building program. Forward Movement funds enabled our own mission to meet the demand. Girls' schools were built in Wonsan, Sungjin and Hoiryung to replace existing outmoded buildings. The Eunjin Boys' Academy in Yongjung, which had been founded by Dr. W. R. Foote in 1920, entered its splendid new building in 1922.

### The Hamheung Academy Issue

By a strange irony of circumstances the building program for Hamheung, the largest of our mission stations, and the provincial capital, was delayed until 1924-5 for the Boys' Academy, and much later for the Girls' schools. The reason for the delay was the effort



being made by the mission boards to secure the necessary funds from special bequests, outside the Forward Movement budget. This would eventually work to the benefit of the Korea mission but the immediate result was great dissatisfaction and unrest in the community and among the students, especially of the Boys' Academy. The students went on strike and set fire to their inadequate wooden structure. This, in turn, strengthened the rivalry already existing between mission stations competing for the location of the academy.

These circumstances compelled the mission to face up to its educational responsibilities and determine a definite educational policy. At that time high school work for boys was being carried on in Wonsan, Hamheung, Sungjin and Yongjung. Girls' schools were being conducted on all five stations, each of which carried a certain amount of high school work. The new government regulations, however, demanded not only adequate accommodation but also a substantial grant for running expenses - \$7,000 yearly for a boys academy. It was evident that limitation and concentration of school work was called for.

The matter was thoroughly discussed at the 1922 meeting of the Mission Council and tentative decisions reached. Since it was felt, however, that the Korean church should share in determining policies, the mission decided to invite the three presbyteries in our field to send representatives to a Joint Conference to discuss educational and other policies. In order to clarify the issue, the following questionnaire was sent to the presbyteries:

1. Should we concentrate, in Korea, on one efficient Higher Common Boys' School (hitherto referred to as 'Academy')?
2. Should it be a Registered school or an Approved school?
3. What should be our policy regarding Higher Common Schools on other stations?
4. Where should the Registered or Approved school be located?
5. To what extent will the Korean church co-operate in the support and control of Girls' schools?

The conference met in Sungjin early in 1923, and it soon became evident that the issue of prime importance was the Boys' Academy, its status and location. Korean opinion strongly favoured a fully registered Higher Common School, but finally agreed on an Approved school where the Bible might be taught as a regular subject on the curriculum. There was heated controversy and an angry local demonstration over the location of the school, which made the Korean delegates wish that the mission alone had made the decision. Finally, however, it was agreed that the school be located at Hamheung. The report of the conference was approved by mission and presbyteries and the educational policy fixed as follows:



1. The Mission should carry two boys' schools of academy grade (officially known as Higher Common Schools), one in Hamheung and one in Yongjung.
2. Academy grade boys' schools now being carried on in Wonsan and Sungjin to be confined to two years of high school; their students then transferring to Hamheung to complete their course.
3. Girls' primary schools to be continued as at present on all five stations.
4. Girls' schools of academy grade to be established in Hamheung and Yongjung; the Girls' schools in Wonsan, Sungjin and Hoiryung to be allowed to carry two years of high school work.
5. The Academy grade schools in Hamheung, both boys' and girls' to be approved schools rather than registered High Common Schools.

The schools in Yongjung were beyond the jurisdiction of the Korean Government-General and therefore free from the exacting regulations which applied in Korea.

The educational policy of the mission having been decided in consultation with the Korean church, it naturally followed that the support and control should also be a joint affair. At the Sungjin conference the question of Korean support of Girls' schools elicited the reply that since the Korean church resources were being taxed to the limit to carry the financial burden of their boys' primary schools, they hoped the mission would continue to carry the responsibility for girls' schools. In regard to the Hamheung Academy for Boys, the F.M.B. requested that the Korean church provide a suitable site for it, and also contribute Y. 10,000 (\$5,000) towards the building fund, a request that was largely fulfilled. In 1924, the mission council invited the presbyteries to appoint members to the boards of management of our schools, boys' and girls' and approved the constitution already drawn up by the Boys' Academy (Eunjin) in Yongjung, which provided for equal Korean and missionary representation on the Board.

#### Bursaries and Scholarships for Postgraduate Study

Another evidence of the newly awakened hunger for education and the Mission's response to it comes from the initiation of financial assistance for postgraduate study abroad. This was a venture not encouraged by other Presbyterian missions because of the fear that students going abroad might come under the influence of too advanced theological thinking. The first request to our mission came from Rev. Chai P'il Kum in 1919. Mr. Chai was an outstanding graduate of the Pyengyang Seminary who had given good service in our mission territory. His request was approved on the conviction that "it would be in the interest of Christian work in our mission to have a number of more highly trained leaders in the church." Mr. Chai's bursary was secured outside the budget by a special gift from the Kew Beach Presbyterian Church in Toronto, and enabled him and a succession of other students to



improve their scholastic qualifications by postgraduate study at Universities in Japan.

A still more ambitious project had its beginning in 1922 when the Rev. Kim Kwan Sik, another able graduate of the Pyengyang Seminary working in our mission, was granted a scholarship for postgraduate work in Canada. He spent two years at Knox College in Toronto, and one year at Princeton before returning to Korea to give distinguished service over many years. He was the first of a long list of scholarship students who have studied in Canada and returned home to enrich the intellectual and spiritual life of their own Korean church.

#### Additions to the Mission Staff

Before going on to a discussion of how church union in Canada affected the Korea mission, it should be noted that the Forward Movement was more than a financial campaign. It also provided an excellent opportunity for recruiting for full-time service on the mission field. The Korea mission greatly benefitted from this, as the following list of additions to our staff will show.

Miss M. H. Fingland, B.Z.	1919
Miss J. G. D. Whitelaw, R.N.	1919
Miss Mabel B. Young, R.N.	1920
Mr. J. G. McCaul (Treasurer)	1920
Rev. R. M. McMullin, B.A., B.D.	1920
Mrs. R. M. McMullin	1920
Miss Miriam Fox, R.N.	1920
Dr. Florence J. Murray, M.D., C.M.	1921
Miss Annette M. Rose	1921
Miss Christine Currie	1921
Rev. F. G. Vesey	1921
Mrs. F. G. Vesey	1921
Miss Ethel Scruton	1922
Miss Viola E. Cardwell, R.N.	1923
Miss M. P. Anderson	1923
Miss A. L. Armstrong, R.N.	1925
Rev. W. A. Burbidge, B.A., B.D.	1925

The preponderance of women appointed was perhaps natural after a war that had taken heavy toll of young men, but it left the mission top heavy on the women's side. Especially since we had lost two men in the interval - Rev. Milton Jack, and Dr. F.W. Schofield, who retired from the mission for health and family reasons. Three of the ladies mentioned above were lost to full-time service, though not to the mission, when Miss Miriam Fox became Mrs. L. L. Young (1922). Miss M. H. Fingland became Mrs. Robert Grierson (1922), and Miss M. P. Anderson married Rev. W. A. Burbidge in 1926.

#### Church Union In Canada

It is interesting to note that the first echo, in Korea, of a movement towards organic union of Canadian churches dates back to 1906.





In that year the General (Federal) Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea appointed a committee to consider the harmonization of Presbyterian and Methodist doctrine, looking forward to eventual union in Korea. The committee reported that the work had already been done so satisfactorily by the Canadian churches that they presented, as a tentative report, the statement of doctrine prepared by the Canadian Committee. As already mentioned, church union in Korea was crowded out of the picture by the organization in 1907 of the Korean Presbyterian Church.

The first draft of a basis of Union was completed by the Canadian churches in 1908, and presented to the 1909 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and to the 1910 Methodist Conference. The General Assembly of 1911 sent it down to test the views of sessions and congregations. This led to several suggested amendments. The amended basis was finally approved by the General Assembly of 1915 and referred to Presbyteries and congregations. On the basis of returns from this reference, the General Assembly of 1916 decided by a vote of 406 to 90 to unite with the Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada, but agreed to delay implementation of this decision until after the end of World War I. The matter was taken up again in 1921 and the decision of 1916 confirmed by a vote of 414 to 107. During the interval, however, strong opposition had been built up in Presbyterian ranks by anti-unionists who brought in a new scheme of Federation which was fully discussed at the 1923 General Assembly and rejected in favour of union by a vote of 444 to 92. The result was a split in Presbyterian ranks, with 17% remaining outside the United Church and continuing as a Presbyterian Church in Canada.

#### Effect of Union on the Korea Mission

News of this decision to unite, received by cable, was reported to the 1923 meeting of the Korea Mission Council - the first mention in our minutes of the union issue, and the following resolution passed:

"The mission notes the progress towards accomplishment of union of the three churches in Canada, and thanks the Board for its thoughtfulness in informing us by cable of the Assembly's decision. We feel sure that the wisdom of the F.M. Board will lead it to the best action under the new conditions and trust that the settlement of the question will result in a revival of missionary enthusiasm both on the part of those who advocated and those who have opposed union, and that by the wise leading of God all the spiritual and material resources of all parties may be so directed as to extend the great work of the church, both in Home and foreign lands."

It will be evident from the cautious wording of this resolution that there was division of opinion within the Korea mission. The



question was never debated in our council; each missionary being left free to record his own preference to the F.M. Board or the Presbytery to which he belonged. Our missionaries were predominantly in favour of union, and when the United Church came into being in June 1925, only three men and their wives out of a staff of 51 remained out of the union. Two of these men, Revs. L.L. Young and D.W. McDonald took their stand out of loyalty to their Presbyterian background. The third Rev. F.G. Vesey, began life as an English Congregationalist, later worked for the Bible Society in Korea. He then transferred to a Methodist mission there, before finally joining the Korea Mission of our church in 1921.

Rev. D.W. McDonald had lost his wife by death in Korea in 1924 and was absent in Canada. He did not return to the field. Rev. L.L. Young and Rev. Vesey expressed their willingness to continue work under the Board of the United Church in accordance with a Board decision that "non-concurring missionaries who express a desire to continue their work under the United Church be continued in the service of this Board until further action."

#### Division of the Field Suggested

Meanwhile, the F.M. Board of the United Church, confronted with reduced income owing to the division in Presbyterian ranks, sought means of curtailing their work. In 1923 they suggested that the Korea mission reopen the question of transferring the Wonsan station to the Methodist mission. This brought forth a mission reply that "we consider that the best interests of the mission as a whole, as well as of the Wonsan station, make it inadvisable to reopen at the present time, the question of withdrawal from Wonsan."

In 1925-6, discussion between the United Church and the non-concurring Presbyterian Church led to the suggestion that the Korea mission be divided between the two. In reply to this, the mission sent a letter of greeting to the non-concurring Presbyterian Church "thanking them for their help in the past and regretting the division that had occurred, but expressing the hope that co-operation with the F.M.B. of the United Church may be possible in some way that will not entail division of the field." The matter persisted until 1926 when the mission replied by cable to the F.M.B.'s proposal to transfer to the non-concurring Presbyterian Church the two northern stations of Hoiryung and Yongjung: "We reiterate our decided opinion that the work of the continuing Church should be carried on the basis of co-operation under one mission, and again urge the Board to press for that decision." This action was taken because of the strong fear that two Canadian missions working in such close proximity would inevitably lead to confusion and friction among both missionaries and Korean brethren. The subject was finally resolved when the Presbyterian Church decided to withdraw from Korea proper and undertake work among Koreans in Japan



The 1925 meeting of the mission council saw several changes, some of which were incident upon church union. The name of the mission was changed to the Korea Mission of The United Church of Canada, and was ordered incorporated in the Mission Juridical Person, the legal property-holding body of the mission. For the first time, a fraternal delegate from our sister-mission in Japan (formerly a mission of the Canadian Methodist Church), was welcomed to our council in the person of Rev. A. T. Wilkinson. The Korea Mission reciprocated by appointing Rev. D. M. McRae to be its fraternal delegate to the Japan Mission Council of 1926. The rules and bylaws of the mission, as revised and reported to the 1924 Council, were further amended and ordered printed in the minutes, the most noteworthy change being the granting of the right to vote to married ladies on the same basis as other missionaries.

#### Relations with Other Presbyterian Missions and with The Korean Presbyterian Church

The change in our status from a Presbyterian Mission to a mission of The United Church naturally called for some adjustment in our relations with other Presbyterian Missions and with the Korean Presbyterian Church. Church Union had come at a time when American Presbyterians were battling a storm of protest against the inroads of liberalism in theology. This protest was also a factor in the anti-union campaign in Canada, and certain American missionaries of extreme conservative persuasion tried to whip up opposition to our continued co-operation with Presbyterian groups in Korea. Fortunately, wiser and more conciliatory counsel prevailed and we were accepted by the Presbyterian Council, the other Presbyterian Missions and the Korean Presbyterian Church.

The 1926 Mission Council sent the following communication to the General Assembly of the Korean Church:

"In view of the fact that the Presbyterian Church in Canada to which we formerly belonged, has united with the Methodist and Congregational Churches to form The United Church of Canada, and that our Mission is now named 'The Korea Mission of The United Church of Canada,' we consider it advisable to notify the General Assembly of this fact and to forward for the Assembly's information a copy of the statement of doctrine and polity upon which the union was consummated.

We respectfully call attention to the following facts:

- (1) That the doctrinal basis adopted by the United Church of Canada is in essential harmony with the twelve articles of faith of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun;
- (2) That the system of government of the United Church of Canada is essentially Presbyterian in form;
- (3) That the United Church of Canada is a constituent member of the Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian system.



We take this opportunity of thanking the Presbyterian Church of Chosun for their unfailing courtesy in allowing the foreign missionary to sit in their courts and receive Presbytery powers. We believe that this courtesy will still be extended to us despite the change in our name. Lest there should be any question regarding our harmony with the standards of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun, we have advised our missionary pastors that if the Presbyteries request it, they should subscribe to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun as their Korean brethren do."

Copies of the Basis of Union were also sent to the other Presbyterian missions working in Korea, and a copy to the secretary of the Council of Presbyterian Missions, with the request that the change of name be incorporated in its constitution and the Canadian Mission be enabled to continue its membership in the Council.

The Korean General Assembly and the Council of Presbyterian Missions both made the necessary changes in their constitutions, incorporating the new name of our mission and welcoming us to continued membership and co-operation. The General Assembly further decreed that new missionaries from all co-operating missions be asked to subscribe to the credal statement of the Korean Presbyterian Church.

#### Emphasis on Devolution of Control

Perhaps the most significant action of the Canadian Mission following upon Union was the new emphasis on devolution of control to the Korean Church of work hitherto carried wholly by the Mission. Reference has already been made to the formation, in 1924, of school boards with equal representation of Korean and missionary members. In 1926, the Mission Council "urged all stations to place under the direct control of the Presbyteries any of the men's evangelistic work which has not yet been so placed;" and also urged women missionaries to "accept the invitation of Presbyteries to sit as corresponding members on the supervising committees (Sichal Weewon) to receive Presbytery advice on their work." A proposal that mission hospitals organize trustee boards with equal Korean representation was postponed for the present. Also postponed for one year was a proposal that the presbyteries be invited to send representatives to meet an equal number of missionaries to "discuss ways and means of closer co-operation between the Mission and the Presbyteries in the control of all work carried on with mission funds."

#### Formation of the General or Joint Board (MI-RO Hoi)

The above proposal was passed at the 1927 meeting of Mission Council on a recommendation of the Executive Committee as follows:

- "(1) That in making up our estimates for presentation to the F.M.B. we divided them into three sections: (1) Personal,





(2) Miscellaneous, Medical and Property; and (3) General Work.

(2) That the section entitled General Work shall include all estimates which relate to evangelistic and educational work carried on within our mission territory.

(3) That all matters relating to General Work shall be dealt with by a General Board composed of an equal number of Koreans and missionaries.

This General or Joint Board met for the first time in the fall of 1927 and continued to function successfully for several years. It was finally discontinued for several reasons. Its right to determine policies was questioned, since this was the prerogative of the Presbyteries. Moreover, its function soon became solely that of determining the disposition of mission funds - a function that tended to produce tension between rival claimants. Added to this was the fact that the educational estimates were largely dictated by government requirements and therefore non-negotiable.

The chief reason for discontinuance, however, came from the serious reduction of mission grants, owing to the depression. The most severe cuts in appropriations fell on the evangelistic work, and led the Korean members to feel that their interests would be better served by stepping up their own efforts at self-support, rather than depending upon dwindling missions grants.

The Joint Board was an honest venture aimed at bringing the Korean Church and the mission into closer relation in the prosecution of the work. It resulted in a deepening of the Presbytery's sense of responsibility for determining policies. It was also a step in the process of persuading the mission of its subordinate place in relation to the indigenous church.

## Chapter 11

### THREE STORIES FROM PIONEER DAYS

We have now reached the half-way mark in our Korea Mission history and it might be interesting to insert here three stories that come down from those early days - stories which the writer heard directly from the persons involved. The first relates to Elder Chey, the old-time medicine man whose home was in the village immediately across the Mansei Bridge from the city of Hamheung. The second comes from the Sungjin district and tells the story of Kim Kei Ahn's pilgrimage from Buddhist priest to Christian preacher. The third tells how Kim Seung



Myung, a county magistrate, is taken to church against his will and becomes an out-and-out Christian layman.

### 1. Faith Is The Best Medicine

It was a tonic to have Elder Chey around; his cheerfulness was contagious. Not the shallow optimism that shuts its eyes to life's hardships and lives in a land of make-believe. He had had his share of trouble, but he never let it get him down. He had learned somehow that trouble lost most of its terror if only you faced it with faith and courage.

This trait was probably a carry-over from his profession as an old-time medicine man. You could tell that drugs were his business. The smell of them clung to his clothes and was in his hair. A visitor to his home soon learned the reason why. One room in it was his 'office', if the six foot square cubby-hole could be distinguished by such a name. It was his drug room too, and the pungent smell of a hundred medicinal herbs and other concoctions was stifling.

His stock-in-trade stood higgledy-piggledy in the corners. They hung from the ceiling and from wooden pegs on the walls. Some were in raw form, uncovered and gathering dust, others were tied in little homemade paper bags. The medicine cupboard, which was the only piece of furniture in the room, had countless little shallow drawers, each designated by a Chinese character. Here were kept the drugs he had dispensed into powder form, and also the specially potent elixirs like 'tiger's teeth' and 'snake's spleen'.

Sick people demand drugs and Elder Chey peddled them, but I always suspected that he knew, what all good doctors know, that the best medicine he dispensed was the confidence he himself inspired. "Give this a good try," he would say as he handed out a package, "and you'll find that it works."

He had used this technique on himself when he first became a Christian, and he chuckled to himself as he told me the story.

As a medicine man he had always been interested in religion, for sickness and disease were closely related with belief in demons. Like all medical men of his day his two surgical instruments were the probing needle and the burning iron. No doubt he knew from his medical books the principles of acupuncture and cauterization, but he also knew his clients' belief that sickness was due to the action of evil spirits. This often called for the use of these instruments. In some cases you had to puncture the body to let the demon out. In more stubborn cases you had to drive him out by applying the burning iron.

Mr. Chey had long been persuaded that much of the sickness he doctored was caused by fear - fear of the evil spirits that caused the



sickness. It was this fact that accounted for his interest in religion. He knew there must be some religion that taught that faith in God would drive out the fear of the demons.

He had met and been attracted to Dr. Swallen, the first missionary to visit Hamheung district. Later he learned that a Christian group had been formed in the city and that they met every night for instruction. With typical determination he decided to attend their meeting. There was only one hazard to that undertaking. There was a wide river to cross, spanned by a narrow bridge a quarter of a mile long. No one in his right senses would attempt that perilous trip on a pitch dark night. It was common knowledge that the demons congregate at the bridgehead after sundown to trip up unwary travellers who had gossiped too long or imbibed too freely with their city friends.

But Mr. Chey's mind was made up, and nothing would daunt him. Demons or no demons he would cross the bridge and learn about this new religion. He got out his paper lantern, lit the little candle inside, and holding it before him he started to cross the bridge. He kept his head down and his eyes glued to the patch of light his little candle gave him. "All the way across," he told me, "I kept saying to myself, 'I believe,' 'I believe.' And when I got to the other side I threw up my hands and shouted, 'it works,' 'It works'".

He burst in on the little group of Christians, still trembling with excitement at his new discovery, and repeating 'it works,' 'it works.' Faith had driven out fear.

He continued his work as a medicine man but he added a new and potent item to his stock of remedies. He was so full of his new faith that he travelled the country villages to carry the good news to the ignorant and superstitious. He would regale them with the story of his own experience and end up by urging them to put their faith in God and Christ. "Try it," he would say, "try it, and you'll find it works."

Yes, it worked. We met many whose lives bore witness to the new radiancy that had come when they substituted for the ancient dread of the unseen a faith that the world was in the hands of a friendly God whose real character was seen in Jesus Christ. They had learned that faith is the best medicine, and that it really does work.

## II. From Buddhist Priest to Christian Preacher

Kim Kay Ahn was sent to a Buddhist monastery while still a boy. His widowed mother was so desperately poor that she took this means of having one less mouth to feed. He proved to be a good student and soon became a devout follower of the Buddha, and eventually a priest.



He was different from most of the other priests who found contentment in the daily humdrum of monastery life. He loved to roam in the woods and recite his prayers to the music of babbling brooks. He bathed his hands and face in the mountain stream and longed for purity of heart. He lost all sense of time as he sat on some headland gazing at the beauty opening before his eyes - green carpeted rice fields stretching down the terraced valley to the village and beyond, until they brought up at the distant sea. If only he could stay here forever he might learn the secret of the Buddha.

But sundown would find him back within monastery walls, his peace of mind disturbed by the monotony of temple worship and the loose talk of dormitory life. All of which led him to a decision that many a saint had made before him. He would go on a solitary pilgrimage to well-known sacred mountains.

He kept his decision to himself and made his plans secretly lest his fellow priests should ridicule him and his superiors interfere. One spring morning, when all his preparations were made, he set out before the others were awake. Under his cloak he carried a little statue of the Buddha which he had borrowed from the temple shrine, - 'stolen' was the word he used - together with a small bag of rice.

He travelled north, begging his way and praying the blessing of Buddha on everyone. Some folk, especially the women, were kind enough to give him a meal and let him sleep in the storeroom; the men folk usually greeted him with a scowl and sent him on his way. But no matter how they treated him he always answered with the Buddhist prayer: "Namu Amitabool," Bless them, O Amita Buddha.

He visited several sacred places, spending long periods of time in fasting and prayer. But always the secret of the Buddha eluded him. Finally, he arrived at the most sacred of all the mountains known to Korea, majestic Paik-too-san, old White Top. Here, surely, he would find peace at last. He considered it a good omen that he was befriended by a family in the last village he passed before entering the rugged uplands that led to the awesome unknown.

The climbing became more difficult and the loneliness more oppressive. He was now in the foothills, beyond human intercourse, as he thought, when suddenly he came on a group of men gathering rare medicinal herbs. They were rough looking fellows armed with sickle and hoe, and they all looked threateningly at the intruder. Knowing they would have no mercy on anyone trespassing on their secret grounds, Kim decided to frighten them by pretending to be a magician going up the mountain to practice his magic art. His ruse had the desired effect. They let him pass.

He continued climbing till he came to a point where he had an unobstructed view of Paik-too-san. There he set up his little shrine and prepared to spend the hundred days in utter devotion. He found an





overhanging ledge that provided shelter for himself and niche for the little figure of the Buddha. A nearby stream would provide the water he needed and his little bag of rice, carefully rationed, would keep body and soul together during his ordeal. He kept track of the days by marking them off on the soft rock of his shelter.

"Week after week I prayed and meditated," he told me, "reciting the Buddhist scriptures I had learned by heart." As the weeks passed his body grew weaker but his mind became more attuned to the trance-like existence the Buddha called 'blessed'.

He had almost completed the hundred days when a terrific storm broke over the mountain. The thunder and lightning were terrifying, and the rains came down as if determined to wash the earth out of existence. The rushing water flooded his shelter and swept the little Buddha from his perch. Kim braved the storm to retrieve him and almost lost his clothing in the process. Fortunately it clung to his drenched emaciated body.

Greater than his physical plight was the agony of the soul that accompanied it. "Why has this happened to me?" he asked. "What does it mean? Have I offended Heaven and am now being punished for it?" Thus did doubt begin to take shape in his mind. It was driven deeper by what followed.

The storm that lashed the mountain had produced a flood that swept away most of the village down below. The medicine men remembered the magician who had gone into the uplands to practice his black art. "He must have been the cause of the deluge," they figured, and now that the storm is over it is time to deal with him."

They organized a posse and made plans to bring Kim to justice. But their suspicion also fell on the family that had given him shelter before he left for the mountain. This house was one of the few that survived the flood. Could the owner be an accomplice? Was he partly responsible for the catastrophe?

The villager fled before the anger of his neighbours. He made for the hills, hoping to find Kim and persuade him to leave the mountain by another route. Meanwhile tempers might cool and he could return to his home.

It took him two days to find Kim and direct him to the other road down the mountain. Kim hurried down the hill, weary in body and in agony of mind. If ever man had longed for peace and paid the price of attaining it, surely he had. Yet peace evaded him and trouble pursued him. Trouble upon trouble brought doubt upon doubt. In the wakeful hours of night he seemed to sense that Heaven was displeased with him. Gradually the question formed in his mind: "Can it be that I



am giving to Buddha the devotion that belongs to Heaven alone?"

He fought his doubts, but they persisted. He reviewed his life, and in all conscience the only things he could charge against himself were the pilfering of the little Buddha from the temple shrine, and the ill-fated make-belief that he was a magician. Yet misfortune had dogged his steps and a strange uneasiness plagued his mind.

The word for Heaven kept rising to his lips - one of the oldest and most revered words in his native tongue; "Hananim," "Hananim." It comes from 'hanal' which means heaven, plus the honorific 'nim'. So that "Hananim" means "The Lord of Heaven." Buddhist prayers and sacred words were drowned out with the flood and in their place came the simple repetition of "Hananim," "Hananim."

At last he could bear it no longer. He took the little figure of the Buddha from under his cloak and looked at him tenderly. He could not help thinking: "How can he look so placid, seemingly oblivious to all that has happened. Was the plight of his faithful follower no concern to him?" Finally he set him down on a ledge of rock and confessed his new decision. "I'll take you back to your proper place in the monastery shrine at home, but from now on I'll serve Heaven alone."

But what did this involve, what did Heaven require of him? This was the question that now occupied his waking hours and disturbed his dreams. He shared his thoughts with brother priests on the way south. Some ridiculed his decision and branded him a turncoat; others sympathized and wished him well. One priest, noting his frequent reference to Heaven, suggested that he enquire about the new sect that went by the name of one 'Jesus'. "They claim to be worshippers of 'Hananim,'" he said, "and they call 'Jesus' the son of Heaven."

This was Kim's first introduction to the Christian religion. He would enquire more about it. Meanwhile, his first duty was to the little Buddha. He must take him home.

He arrived in Yaedong, his native village, to discover that a Christian group had been established there by carpenters cutting timbers for a Christian hospital in nearby Sungjin. They called themselves the Yaesoo-kyo, the Jesus Church, the very name that had been ringing in his ears ever since that talk with his brother priest. These men would tell him about this 'Jesus'.

He found them simple, warm-hearted men who welcomed him to their group. They gave him two small books to read: The Gospel of Luke which recorded the life of Jesus, and The Acts of the Apostles, which told of the founding of the Christian church. They were so simple and so brief compared with the Buddhist scriptures he had laboured so long to master. Yet the story fascinated him, and the truth of its message was being re-enacted before his very eyes. This little group of Christians were a fellowship whose warmth and vitality drew him to them. Hitherto he had run away from life, with no companion but his little Buddha. Now he found a new joy and a new zest for life in the fellowship of others in a common effort to glorify the God of Heaven.



All the dedication and enthusiasm he had hitherto shown in the service of the Buddha he now directed towards the service of God and Christ. In his eagerness to learn he got in touch with Dr. Robert Grierson who welcomed this promising recruit. He put him to work in the newly opened primary school, but Kim's gentle spirit was no match for the exuberance of Korean youth. He next made him a cook in his own home, where he might learn more about the Christian faith, but Kim's long vigils with the Buddha had left him with chronic catarrh and a drippy nose.

By this time, too, Kim had learned enough to be employed as an evangelist and Bible colporteur. Thus began one of the most fruitful careers of an early Korean Christian. He travelled the same region he had covered as a Buddhist priest, and was a living example of what a Christian man could be. Scores of villages welcomed him, and many a church in North Korea owed its origin to the preaching and example of Kim Kay Ahn.

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The story I have just recorded came from Mr. Kim himself. We sat in our living room chatting over a cup of tea, when, to my careful prompting, he broke through his native reticence and reminisced. The barriers were down, so I ventured a further question.

"Mr. Kim," I said, "you know both faiths intimately. What, in your opinion, is the difference between Buddhism and Christianity?"

He looked at me wistfully, hesitated a little, and then gave me an answer that showed he had thought much about this question.

"Korea owes much to Buddhism," he began. "Many a Korean has found solace and inspiration through the way of the Buddha; and some of our best national traits we owe to him. But the way of Christ is better, and I, personally, owe more to Christ. All that Buddha offered me I find in greater measure in Christ; and the life Christ offers me is immeasurably richer and fuller than that offered by Buddha."

This was a good start, and I followed up by asking just where the difference lay. He answered by giving a series of contrasts that might be summarized as follows:

"Buddha is a lover of solitude and I sought him in the mountain recesses; Christ is a lover of men and He seeks us in the thoroughfares of daily life."

"Buddha sits in placid unconcern as the race of men go by; Christ agonizes for them on the cross."

"Buddha offers us release from life and all its ills; Christ offers us more abundant life despite its ills."



"Buddha calls us to solitary meditation and prayer; Christ adds to these basic disciplines his call to co-operation with God in the service of men."

As if to indicate that his story was ended Mr. Kim raised his head and looked me straight in the face, and I found myself caught in the gaze of two kindly eyes that looked out from an inward serenity and gentleness of spirit that gave credence to his concluding remark.

"I'm not sorry I changed to Christ," he said. "In Him and in his service I have found the peace and joy I always sought."

### III. How The Magistrate Went to Church

I was the only missionary at the dedication of the new church at Samho. It was a hot summer day and I had hesitated to go, for church openings, as the best of times, were long and tedious. But Samho, I reckoned, would be different. Samho Christians were rugged fisher folk - men who pit their strength against the elements and wrest a living from the sea. When pagan, they were gloriously pagan; when they became Christian, life was still an adventure to be carried through with the old energy and daring.

There, before my eyes, stood a witness to this fact. They were only a fishing village, with a handful of Christians, yet they had dared to build one of the finest churches in our whole section of Korea. On this particular day they were met to dedicate their church and to honour the man whose enthusiasm and generosity had made it possible.

Kim Seung Myung was the man, as fine a specimen of Korean manhood as I ever met. He stood six feet tall, with a well-built frame to match. He carried himself with the bearing of a man accustomed to rule. Which explains why he had made a name for himself through several terms as magistrate, and why the tablet which graced one wall of the church read: "In honour of Elder Kim Seung Myung, a Christian and Public Benefactor."

His name was on the program to lead in prayer, and this is how it ran: "O God, I thank Thee for taking a man like me - a haughty, brawling, drunken man like me - for cleaning up my life and making me the man I am. I thank Thee for putting it into my head to help build this church. May it be used to Thy glory and to the saving of many more like me."

Having unburdened his heart thus briefly to his Maker, he wiped his eyes and turned to the congregation. "I'd like to say a few things before I sit down," he remarked, and proceeded to tell the story of his conversion. It was a long story but he held his audience throughout. The church was crowded and among his audience were many of





elder Kim's old cronies, still in their pagan unconcern. He addressed himself particularly to them.

"You all know me for what I was and what I am," he began. "Money was no concern to me. It came easily; I spent it freely. My chief concern was the good of the village. I served you long as village headman and county magistrate. That hill over there is the village park because I fought the government for it. I gave you the cemetery in which you bury your dead. I built your first public school and made you send your sons to it. I fathered a dozen projects for your good, till our village became widely known in our province. You, in your turn, were good to me. You honoured me and trusted me. You raised a magnificent stone to perpetuate my name. I sat on the Governor's council. I was chosen to visit the palace and to receive some silver cups as a token of respect."

"Then came the Christians. You remember how I hated them - upstart fellows who babbled about God and Christ and thought we were all sons of the devil because we drank and smoked and enjoyed life. You remember how I set the police on them, dogged their steps where ever they went, refused to sell them land for a church, and threatened to drive them out of the village. Even when I went to the city I would walk through dirty narrow lanes and climb a fence rather than pass a foreigner's house or a Christian church."

"But they beat me to it in the end. My own nephew got religion; one of my own stock whose business it is to get things done. They bought land for a meeting place - the brow of a hill that nobody wanted. They built a church and boasted of its size. They hung a bell to ding in our ears. And finally they sent out invitations to all and sundry to attend the opening. It was a great day. The whole village was agog with excitement. Perhaps the feast that was to follow attracted some of you."

"As for me, I stormed and fumed and threatened; too proud to acknowledge defeat. Then some of you came to my office and dared me to attend the ceremony. It was my duty, you said, as headman and magistrate to do the honours for the community. But I only laughed and drank to their confusion. And then you played your trick. You plied me with wine and still more wine until you got me gloriously drunk. Then you carried me bodily to the church door and chuckled as my own nephew took me in hand, thanked me for coming, and led me staggering to a prominent place near the platform."

"Well, thank God for that day. Something sobered me where I sat. It may have been a sense of shame. It may have been resentment at your handling of me, and a desire to get even. It was likely more than that, for I found myself thinking that these Christians were really men after my own heart. The courage with which they had carried on despite my threats. The way they took our snubbing and persecution. The energy and enthusiasm they put into their church building. The tremendous earnestness with which they confronted us with the need of



religion. Even to that long, lanky foreign fellow who pleaded for help to pay the debt on the church, assuring us that he who gave was not losing his money but only putting it in the bank of Heaven."

"All that somehow got home to me. I threw all caution to the winds and stood up to congratulate the Christians. I extolled the virtue of religion. I spoke of the good a Christian church might do. I said we were all proud to have such a building in the village, and ended by wishing them all success. Next I turned to you fellows who had brought me to church. I said it was a disgrace to dedicate a building to God with a debt on it, and that it was up to us to do our bit. I promised to give three hundred and fifty yen, if you would pay the rest. It was my turn to chuckle as I made you open your purses and pay heavily for the prank you had played on me that day."

"By this time I was thoroughly sober and a great decision was forming in my mind. You remember it well. I took you to the wine shop. 'Boys,' I said, 'drink to your heart's content. I pay the bill. But remember this: this is the last drink you'll ever get from Magistrate Kim. I'm through with it forever. No man ever did me a better turn than you did when you filled me with liquor and took me to church. It's not the old Kim that's talking to you now. From today on I travel a different road.'" I left you there befuddled and sceptical. God forgive me for filling you with drink that day, but you would have got drunk anyway. You didn't believe me then, and you may not believe me now. But I want to tell you that from that day until this not a drop of liquor has passed my lips. The very taste of it went out of my life that day and has never returned. And that is eighteen years ago."

At this point the speaker paused, visibly moved at the memory of the miracle that had transformed his life. The day was hot and gave him an excuse to mop his face and incidentally to wipe away a tear. But he soon forgot himself again in his tale, the audience following with keen interest.

"I don't wonder that you thought me crazy; the very children used to talk of the queer things I did. I called my family and relatives together and told them that I was now a Christian, that they were all Christians, and if anyone wished to disagree he was free to do so, but that henceforth he would be no connection of mine. I then wrote my eldest boy, at college in Japan. I told him what had happened and added: 'Son, you've got to become a Christian, or you no longer belong to me. I'll wait for your answer before I send your next allowance.' His answer came soon enough, and showed that he really was a son of mine. 'Dad,' he wrote, 'I knew how you hated the Christians and I kept it a secret from you, but I've been a Christian for over a year. I've been praying daily for you, and I'm more than glad to hear you've come across.'"



"I had set my own house in order. Now I turned to public affairs. I may have been too hasty, but this new interest I had found seemed to come like a flood, sweeping my past life away like a thing of straw. I resigned from the magistracy, and from the Governor's Council. I paid men to pull down and bury the stone you had erected in my honour. I even destroyed my precious silver cups. It was my way of breaking with the past. Then I went to the city, no longer afraid of the missionary. I bought bibles and hymnbooks for all my family and hired someone to teach us to sing. How the town laughed when they heard of it. But there was laughter in my soul, too, for a new strange joy possessed me. From that day until now my supreme aim in life has been to honour Christ."

"That brings me to this day. There stands the old church, a silent witness to my shame and to my triumph. I love that old church. But it has grown too small for the congregation. We must replace it with something bigger, they said, and I knew that my chance had come to do one more good thing for the village. I decided to bear half the expense, and I put my name down for twenty-five hundred yen. The church people have done magnificently and raised more than their share. But a debt remains, as it did on that day long ago. Fourteen hundred yen must be raised today; I'll give an additional thousand if you raise the four hundred here and now. I'm glad to do it, for of all the things I've done for the village the one that gives me the greatest satisfaction is my share in building this church. I only wish that my many old friends could share with me the joy that came to me that day you brought me to church against my will."

Elder Kim sat down amid the round of applause. He had stood up to pray; he had added a glorious testimony. The church was duly dedicated and the remaining four hundred yen fully subscribed - part of it coming from non-Christian sources. The three hours of ceremony had no dull moments and was brought to a close with a strong appeal for decisions. Elder Kim was again on his feet - his vigorous personality dominating the proceedings and his old magisterial authority carrying some wavering ones over the line.

Recently, one of Elder Kim's sons has written a biography of his father, a fitting tribute to one whose name was widely known, first as a magistrate and later as a devoted Christian layman.



PART TWOAN APOLOGY

The writer apologizes for the scrambling of first and third person pronouns in Part II of this historical sketch. There are parts of the record where it seemed to me that the use of the first personal pronoun might add life and intimacy to the narrative. I therefore beg the reader's indulgence.

W.S.

Chapter 12The Passing of The Top-Knot

There was a young man of Korea  
Whose hat was decidedly queer,  
Not to cover his head  
But his top-knot instead  
Was evidently the idea.

Now recently, all in a hurry,  
The top-knot became quite a worry;  
Remove it I must, cried  
The youth and he fussed  
Till he got the whole town in a flurry.

Then Grandfather Kim, rather bearish,  
Said, "You and your notion go perish;  
It's all tommy-rot  
To get rid of the knot  
It binds us to all that we cherish.

For a decade or two they did wrangle  
Each trying the other to wangle,  
And it was no surprise  
That the hoary and wise  
Came out second best in the tangle.

But really there's nothing to fear  
Though top-knots and all disappear,  
For under his hat,  
Be it western at that  
We'll still find our Kim of Korea.





These lines were written shortly after my arrival in Korea. I had discovered that the top-hat and the top-knot it covered were the distinguishing marks of the Korean gentleman, and though fast disappearing in the cities they were still in common use in the country districts. They had a special significance. From time immemorial the Korean boy had worn his hair long, plaited down his back. Only when he married was it cut shorter, but still long enough to be caught up and tied on top of his head in what was called a 'top-knot' (sant-too). He was then allowed to wear a hat - a tall hat made of finely woven horse hair, lacquered to make it stiff. The hat rested precariously on the head and was held secure by ribbons tied under the chin. So distinctive was this badge of Korean manhood that an early writer on Korea could entitle her book "Fifteen Years Among The Top-Knots".

But perhaps it would be interesting to quote from the pen of Dr. James S. Gale, the historian par excellence of the Korean people, telling the origin of both the top-knot and the tall-hat.

"A remarkable accompaniment of the arrival of Wiman (B.C. 194) was the top-knot. It was originally the mark of the young man's coming of age ... A band was tied around the head to keep the hair in place, the strings that laced it being fastened to the root of the top-knot. Behind the headband were two buttons on each side that served for the lace strings to pass through. These buttons, made of horn, tortoise shell, gold or jade, indicated the standing of the person who wore them."

Dr. Gale goes on to tell what the top-knot meant to the Korean gentleman. "One of my valued friends", he writes, "is a Christian gentleman of high rank, a scholar of the old school. His father, a cousin of a former king, was informed in 1894 that an order had been issued to abolish the top-knot. As a lad this young prince had been taught to count every hair of his head as precious, a link that bound him to his father and mother, and here was the top-knot, a symbol of the past, a proof that he still held to the ways of the ancients, at one fell swoop being ordered off. Never would he do it; so he turned him home, set his house in order, called his children, bade them a dignified farewell, and then quietly, by a sharp steel knife, departed this life."

The second quotation tells the origin of the tall-hat. "Many stories are told of Keuija (1122 B.C.) one that he found the Koreans a fierce and ungovernable people, given to breaking each other's heads. As a preventative against this he had them don earthenware hats, wide as the moon, and fragile as egg-shell porcelain. The extent to which the wide hat was preserved intact indicated a man's standing as a gentleman; while a broken hat marked him a thief and robber. The earthenware hat gradually changed to horse hair, and so it has come down till today."



Returning to my own first introduction to the top-hat. One of my earliest recollections of Korea is that of a language teacher, Mr. Kim, pacing back and forth on the verandah of our house singing a spring song. The exuberance of his welcome to spring fixed the first line of the song indelibly on my mind: "Watoda, Watoda, Pomee Watoda" - "It has come, it has come; the springtime has come." But I could not help thinking that his joyous reaction to the coming of spring stood in marked contrast to his refusal to welcome the coming of new ideas and new customs to his native Korea. He belonged to the old school. He wore traditional Korean clothes - long wide pantaloons tied neatly at the ankles, a long flowing overcoat - the tooroo-magi - and the typical tall-hat which he wore indoors and out. His only concession to the incoming tide of new fashions was the fact that he wore his hair short. Even his fellow Koreans teased him of being old fashioned.

This passing of the top-knot, as I have called it in the limerick-style verses given at the beginning of this chapter, was the first of many changes that accompanied the modernization of Korea, and served to dramatize the conflict they aroused. Dr. Hugh Cynn, for example, tells how the refusal of modern youth to make the customary filial bow before their elders caused great resentment. One learned to sympathize with those who loved the old ways, but found himself standing with those who realized that change was inevitable and necessary. This attitude was made easier because of one's belief that whatever changes might come, the basic characteristics and qualities of heart and mind which mark the Korean people would remain, that "under his hat, be it western at that, we'll still find our Kim of Korea." In Part Two of this history we are passing into an era of rapid and extensive change.

### Chapter 13

#### Church And Missions Face A Changing World

Korea was not directly involved in World War I but she could not avoid being caught up in the ferment that followed that conflict. During the 1920s, forces at work on a world-wide scale included: disillusionment with war and the peace settlement; revolt of youth against traditional customs and morals; widespread concern for social and economic betterment; greater awareness of the place and promise of practical science; and, above all, the emergence of communism with its indictment of the colonial and capitalist systems, its utter rejection of religion, and its revolutionary call to the oppressed classes and nations to rise and shake off their shackles.

Korea's disillusionment related to her own independence movement and to the idealism that had centered on the Peace Conference. She had pinned her faith on President Wilson's principle of self-



determination only to find that it was being used not as a principle of general application but rather as a means of punishing the defeated nations. Colonial status still prevailed in those countries already held by the victors, and in the case of others it amounted to no more than the transfer of subject peoples from one colonial power to another under the guise of trusteeship. Korea remained subject to Japan, and the reforms initiated by the Saito administration, though widely acclaimed by the missionary community, brought little comfort to the ardent Korean patriot. The longing for independence persisted and the colonial system came to be regarded by many Christians as a moral issue on which the Christian church should make its voice heard.

The following incident is worth recording. The writer was present at the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church at which Rev. Chung In Gwa gave his report on the Jerusalem Missionary Conference of 1928. He described much of the proceedings as of little interest to the younger churches, and irrelevant to the issues of the day. He told how he and an Indian delegate had repeatedly tried to bring the question of colonial rule before committees or general sessions of the Conference, only to be denied the right to raise such an issue. "Finally", he concluded, "my Indian friend and I left the Conference and made our way to Golgotha where, with bowed heads, we sought comfort in the thought of Him who there endured the agony of the cross, the nails and the thrust of the spear, for us and all mankind."

#### Korea Enters The Modern World

But other interests claimed the immediate concern of Korean youth. New ideas and new movements broke on them like a flood and swept them into the mainstream of modern life. "The old world of leisure and meditation is gone", wrote Dr. William Kerr, of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, "and in its place has come the world of iconoclasm and new panaceas, the world of science and practical affairs. The hermit has disappeared and in his place has come the stripling who wants a free field in which to show forth the powers that are within him."

Korean youth, like the youth of other nations, began to throw off the inhibitions of the past. They ignored the old social order based on the Confucian system. As already mentioned, they incurred the wrath of their elders by refusing to perform the age-old custom of 'kow-tow'. New customs and new words, already common in Japan, began to appear. 'Mobo' (modern boy) and 'moga' (modern girl) were introduced, along with western dress and western hair styles. Strictures on the relationship between the sexes, which old Korea had so jealously guarded, began to break down. It was not uncommon for young couples to walk hand-in-hand in the streets, and the subject of love, which had been taboo in polite circles, became common talk. Modern novels,



either original works or translations from abroad, were eagerly read. The love story was all the rage.

To Dr. James S. Gale, who more than any other missionary, knew and loved Korea's cultural past, the change brought nothing but sadness and foreboding. He penned a lament "for such a day as this when an ancient people has lost all her ideals, her religion, her ceremonials, her music, her language, her woman's world and even her dress." He bemoaned the passing of the Chinese classics, "the policeman of the soul that forbade wandering thoughts and illicit ways", and sadly pointed out that "today's graduate from Tokyo University cannot read what his fathers left him as a special heritage - the literary past of Korea, a great and wonderful past."

His only hope lay in his faith in the Korean woman, to whom he paid this deserved tribute: "The Korean woman has convictions of soul that hold good through foul and sunny weather. Her influence on the present generation is the best and most hopeful possible. Surely among the women of the world she will find a place of honour."

The ferment in Korean life was heightened by the fact that the Saito administration granted greater freedom of thought and expression. Korean newspapers and magazines were allowed, within limits, to publish foreign news and to make critical comment on national and international affairs. The names of Gandhi and Lenin and their policies became well known, and their influence was reflected in Korean writing. "Prose, poetry, editorial or story", wrote Dr. Nam-keung of the Pyengyang Seminary, "are full of complaints and murmurings ... Every article deals with conditions in the country in the light of the Russian experiment in communism."

#### Response Of Church and Missions

The immediate response of church and missions was to follow the well known methods of mass evangelism. A vigorous campaign was launched by the Presbyterian church under the leadership of Rev. Kim Eek Too, which continued through much of the 1920s. The Canadian Mission co-operated willingly. "The general trend of thought in the country", wrote Rev. E. J. O. Fraser, "has turned men to the church and the opportunity is unique". Rev. L. L. Young was still more enthusiastic: "never in fifteen years", he wrote, "have I discovered such readiness to listen to the gospel." Early results proved encouraging. The number of professing Christians in our section of Korea rose from 13,602 in 1919 to 22,721 in 1925. From that time on, however, there was a dampening of enthusiasm and a marked decline in numbers. The figures given for 1930 had dropped to 17,524.





The decline in numbers can be largely attributed to the inroads of communist thought and action. Vladivostock fell to the Red Army in 1922, and event of which the Canadian and Methodist South missions had dramatic evidence. Several thousand 'White' Russian refugees made their escape - some by land through Yongjung to Harbin, some by sea to Wonsan and thence to Shanghai. The missionary community as a whole did extensive relief work on their behalf.

By 1925 Japan had recognized the Moscow government. This was the signal for many Koreans who had espoused communism to return home from Russia, Japan and China. They soon made their influence felt, and their first object of attack was religion. In 1925 they staged an all-out anti-Christian demonstration in Seoul, in opposition to the All-Korea Sunday School Convention then in session in the Capital. Police intervention broke up their demonstration but this only served to strengthen their contention that the Christian church was reactionary and allied with the powers that be.

#### New Emphasis On Social Concern

One notable response of the church to the changing times and the adverse criticism of communism was the awakening and deepening of Christian concern for social and moral issues. Hitherto the church had confined her interest largely to the three-fold task of preaching, teaching and healing, expressed in the establishment of churches, schools and hospitals. During the 1920s her concern was extended to a wide variety of social work, including temperance and moral welfare work, rescue homes for prostitutes, homes for beggar boys, work among factory hands, organization of YM and YWCAs and WCTUs, demand for a fairer wage system (even among mission employees), and the organization of a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

Most of these lines of work were first undertaken in the capital, but the new social emphasis soon spread to all sections of Korea. Churches vied with each other in undertaking some kind of work that would give evidence of their Christian social concern. Kindergartens appeared, "to take children off the backs of their grandparents", night schools for illiterate women or for girls too poor to attend day-schools, homes for elderly women and clubs for street urchins, and so forth. The first YMCA in our section of Korea was established in Hamheung in 1919. By 1922, it was a vigorous going concern, with its own secretary, Mr. Lee Seung Ki, who gave dedicated service through a period of some twenty years. Tribute should be paid, also, to Elder Choi Young Hak of Hamheung, who for over a decade, ran a night-school for illiterate women in the basement of Central Church, himself giving personal supervision every week night but Wednesday and Saturday. Such work was duplicated on each of our stations.



### The Mott Conference

The Mott Conference of December, 1925, was another factor in deepening the Christian concern in face of changing conditions. Dr. John R. Mott and Mr. Fletcher Brockman held a two-day conference in Seoul, to which delegates from all denominations and missions were invited. The writer was one of several missionaries present. The conference was one of a series being held in mission lands in preparation for the forth-coming World Missionary Conference to be held in Jerusalem in 1928. The general question put to the Conference was this: "What problems confront you in Korea on which you would like to have brought to bear the experience of the Christians of the world?"

As was fitting, Korean delegates did most of the speaking and their questions were timely. While not under-estimating or neglecting the need for constant spiritual renewal, they dealt chiefly with the Christian faith in relation to everyday issues. "What can the church and missions do to help improve the living conditions of the Korean people?" "How can the church become an agent for saving society rather than occupying itself with perpetuating its own organization?" "Needed - a clear statement of essential Christianity." "Needed greater effort to equip young people to meet anti-Christian propaganda." "Need for missionaries to become more Koreanized." "Need for mission boards and Korean churches to present a more united front in face of the common task."

Under the wise and able chairmanship of Hon. Yun Chi Ho, direct discussion of Korea's political situation was avoided, but reference was made to the "tarnished image of the so-called Christian West, with its militarism, its capitalism and its imperialism". One delegate went so far as to urge: "Release India and the Philippines; then pray for us".

### The Need For A Reasoned Apologetic

Among the findings of the Mott Conference was one that called for the preparation of pamphlets that treat from the Christian standpoint some of the social and intellectual difficulties that confront the young people of the day. This was a subject that had been voiced by many of the younger missionaries. As early as 1922, Rev. D. A. Macdonald of the Canadian mission had pointed out that "we are not reaching the intellectual classes", and quoted the opinion of a secretary of the Christian Literature Society that "there is hardly one book on the shelves of the society that would appeal to or influence an educated man."

In similar vein, the Rev. F. W. Cunningham of the Australian mission makes a plea for a more reasoned apologetic. "The Korean church's faith", he wrote, "has been characteristically simple, content with



the most literal interpretation of scripture, little concerned with criticism or a reasoned apologetic. Therefore the Korean Church often has no ready answer to give the modern objector. In view of the intellectual and social unrest one cannot but feel that one of Korea's needs today is that of a frank and sane apologetic." (The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1925, pp. 485,6.)

The response of the church and missions was varied. The Methodist Seminary encouraged its students to consider the benefits and weaknesses of Korean Christianity. The Presbyterian church and missions reiterated the need for doctrinal integrity and renewed emphasis on mass evangelism. In 1926, the Northern Presbyterian mission memorialized the Korean Presbyterian Church, urging their strict adherence to the fundamental doctrines of the church. They also notified the other Presbyterian missions of their action and suggested that they follow their example. The reply of the Canadian mission, in part, was as follows:

"While we heartily agree that in view of the present intellectual unrest prevalent in Korea, as elsewhere in the world, we need a more adequate and vigorous apologetic for the Christian faith, we feel that rather than simply reiterating the historic creeds to which our various churches subscribe we should devote ourselves more earnestly to the task of giving a constructive and aggressive presentation of the gospel which shall better commend it to the life and thought of the day."

#### Agricultural Mission

The most ambitious project carried out by the missions in an effort to meet the changing needs of the times, was the Agricultural Mission undertaken by the YMCA in co-operation with the Federal Council of Missions and the Korean churches. The movement was sparked by the report on rural conditions in Korea made by Dr. Edment de Brunner to the Jerusalem Missionary Conference, and based on an intensive, on-the-spot study of 35 representative Korean farm villages.

The report pointed out that 83% of the Korean population (1926) were dependent on the soil, and that an estimated 73% of the Christian constituency was composed of farmers and their dependents. The investigation showed that more than half of the farmers were tenant farmers, owning no land of their own, and that 80% of them were carrying a debt of over 100, on which they paid from 36 to 48% interest. One third of the farmers were part tenants, part owners, many of whom failed to make ends meet and were being forced to mortgage their small holdings.

In response to urgent appeals from the missions and in line with the recommendation of the Missionary Conference, the International YMCA



undertook to open a rural mission campaign in Korea. The few agricultural missionaries already in Korea were re-enforced by the appointment of three full-time YMCA agricultural specialists - two from the United States and one from Canada. The men from the U. S. were Mr. F. O. Clark, who came not only with sound academic training but with many years of practical experience in teaching and experimental work; and Mr. G. W. Avison, born in Korea, and trained in the U.S.A., with special interest in the co-operative movement. The Canadian representative was Mr. A. C. Bunce, trained in Canada, a specialist in animal husbandry and the marketing of farm produce.

As Canadians, Mr. and Mrs. Bunce were appointed to reside in Hamheung and a YMCA residence was erected for them on property acquired from the Canadian mission. From 1929 until their retirement in 1934, due to the depression, they greatly enriched the missionary fellowship and added to the range of interest and concern of the Canadian missionaries.

Mr. Bunce was particularly concerned to counteract the communist propaganda that was then strong in our section of Korea. His understanding of the situation and his reaction to it is best described by reference to one of his reports. "When things are black", he wrote, "and there seems no way out, it is only too easy to say 'let's smash the whole society and begin again'. That doctrine is being preached here today, and its simplicity and easiness appeals to all. But revolution will not make the Korean people more able to co-operate; it will not teach them better agriculture or make the land produce more; it will not teach them honesty and business management; it will not create industries or make for a higher standard of living. Christianity should supply the motive power and indicate the means by which we are to achieve a nobler society of men, not as a political body, but as the sensitizer of the nation's conscience in the people."

During their first year of operation in the rural improvement team held twenty farm schools throughout Korea, with 4,081 persons attending. Four of these were held in the Hamkyung provinces - at Wonsan, Hamheung, Sungjin and Hoiryung. Rev. Dr. A. Macdonald describes and evaluates the one held in Wonsan as follows: "In Wonsan 100 men paid one yen entrance fee, and from 9 a.m. till late in the afternoon these pioneers of a new day eagerly followed instruction in soils, fertilizers, farm management, fruit growing, stock raising, poultry, bees, etc. There was something for everybody no matter what his speciality. In the evenings public meetings were held and the largest church crowded with both men and women. Wonsan is one of the finest fruit districts in Korea and one by-product of the Institute was the organization of a club among the fruit-growers which meets once a month to discuss their own problems and plans. Surely this is practical Christianity."





Unfortunately the depression of the early 1930s compelled the International YMCA to withdraw its agricultural team from Korea, leaving the missions to continue the project as well as they could. Reference will be made later to the work done in the Canadian Mission by Miss Maud Mackinnon and Rev. W. A. Burbidge.

### Registration of Schools

The most perplexing issue to confront the Canadian Mission in the '20s had to do with the registration of schools. The new educational ordinance of 1915 had given private schools ten years grace during which time they must reach the required standard in school building and grounds, equipment, staff and budget. By 1925, because of generous grants from the home church's post-war Forward Movement Fund, most of our schools had approximated to the required standards and were ready to apply for permits under the new regulations.

The question now confronting us was what kind of permit we should apply for. Two alternatives were possible. We might apply for 'Registration' as a Higher Common School, or for special 'Recognition' as an 'Approved' or 'Designated' school. The chief difference, as far as the missions were concerned, was that in "Registered" schools bible teaching had to be carried outside the curriculum, whereas in the case of "designated" schools, it could be carried as a subject of the curriculum.

Arguments for and against went as follows: "Registered" schools were part of the regular educational system and therefore favoured by the educational authorities. Graduates from them were fully qualified to seek entrance to higher schools of learning, not only in Korea, but also in Japan. The authorities, moreover, were not adverse to them carrying on religious instruction outside of the curriculum. In the case of "Designated" schools the educational authorities were prejudiced against them, and graduates were subject to discrimination in efforts to secure entrance to higher schools of learning, especially in Japan proper. The very classification, of the school, it was claimed, marked it as inferior; it was listed with other schools under the term 'miscellaneous'.

The question was thoroughly discussed in the Mission Council of 1922, and since we considered that the Korean Church should share in the decision we invited the four Presbyteries concerned to send representatives to meet with an equal number of missionaries to discuss and decide the issue. This meeting was held in Sungjin, January, 1923, when a heated discussion took place. The Koreans favoured "registration", but finally deferred to the mission's insistence on "designation".



It was evident, however, that this decision did not meet with the approval of the Korean Church, for every year, from 1924 through 1926, the Presbyteries petitioned the Mission to seek "registration". Meanwhile, those of us who had the responsibility of carrying on negotiations with the educational authorities found them stubbornly prejudiced against "designation" and favourably inclined, in the case of "registered" schools, to be considerate of the Christian emphasis in our work.

At this stage of the negotiations we welcomed as visitors to our Mission Dr. James Endicott, Moderator of our church, and Dr. (and Mrs.) Alfred Gandier, Principal of Knox College, Toronto. They travelled extensively and met Korean brethren of all walks of life. They reported that the one subject constantly mentioned was the school question, with the plea that they use their influence to have the schools "registered".

The subject was fully discussed at the special meeting of Mission Council, called to welcome our guests, May 25, 1927. Both of them expressed the opinion that the time had come for the Mission to apply for "registration" of the Hamheung High Schools. The Mission voted in favour of such action but added the words "provided that the Korean General Assembly consider it advisable to do so". It was also decided to ask the opinion of the four Presbyteries in our district.

The approval of the Presbyteries was immediately given, but the General Assembly declined to approve and sent the request back to the Mission and the Presbyteries concerned. Meanwhile, the Foreign Mission Board of our church, in May, 1928, expressed "its judgment that the Korea Mission had acted wisely at its meeting in 1927, in deciding to apply for registration of the Hamheung schools, and advised the Council, at its next annual meeting, to take such steps as will effect such registration".

In accordance with this advice, the Mission Council of 1928 voted to give the schools permission to apply for registration. This was done and after several years of continuous negotiations Government permits were granted them on March 4, 1931.

It might be added that Drs. Endicott and Gandier, while in Seoul, made a courtesy call on Mr. Hirai, the Head of the Educational Bureau of the Government-General and were given the assurance that we would be granted the right to carry on religious work in the schools, provided it was not added to the curriculum.

Mission approval of our Girls' Primary schools applying for registration was delayed until 1929, and permits were received in due course.



Development of Medical Work

Reference has already been made to the fact that during the pioneer decades the urgency of evangelism and the care of new churches relegated medical work to a secondary place in the mission. Much of the work done was treatment of minor ailments on patients met during itinerating trips. Drs. Grierson and McMillan were able to maintain a limited practice through the help of part-time, and later full-time Korean assistants on graduation. The names of Dr. Kim Yung Bai in Sungjin, and Drs. Yu Im Kyung and Mo Hak Pok in Hamheung appear frequently in reports.

At first the aim of the mission was to carry medical work on all stations, and dispensaries were built for that purpose. With the transfer of Dr. Mansfield from Hoiryung to Wonsan, however, to co-operate with the Methodist Mission in a union hospital, the dispensaries in Wonsan and Hoiryung ceased to function, and were used for educational purposes. The first hospital to be built in our mission was the Sungjin Hospital, built with a generous grant made by the Joint East and West Boards. It was dedicated and opened by Dr. O R. Avison, in 1918. Unfortunately, the grant for running expenses was not sufficient to enable it to be kept open during the winter months. Moreover, the establishment of a large, well-equipped, well-staffed Government hospital in Sungjin greatly reduced the urgency of it.

The arrivals of Dr. S. H. Martin in 1916, Dr. Florence J. Murray in 1921, and Dr. D. M. Black in 1927 brought new enthusiasm and new thoroughness to our mission medical work. They were ably supported by a succession of capable nurses, including Misses M. J. Mackinnon (1915), J.G.D. Whitelaw (1919), M. B. Young (1920), V. E. Cardell (1923), A. L. Armstrong (1925), Ada Sandell (1927), and B. V. Bourns (1932).

From 1915 to 1920 Dr. Mansfield was our mission representative on the staff of the Union Hospital in Wonsan, and thereafter, until his retirement in 1926, represented the mission on the staff of Severance Hospital and Medical College. He was succeeded in Severance by Dr. S. H. Martin who had already given ten years of strenuous service in St. Andrew's Hospital in Yongjung. During these years he had supervised the erection of a modern 25 bed hospital, had installed electric power with his own hands, and seen to the laying on of water supply from a well dug near the hospital. His services were particularly appreciated by the Korean population during the trying days of 'independence' movement and the punitive expedition in which scores of Koreans were killed or wounded. On Dr. Martin's appointment to Severance, we were fortunate to find an able substitute in Dr. D. M. Black who transferred from the Formosa Mission to Korea at the time of church union. He served with dedication both Korean and Chinese patients in the Yongjung district until his retirement in 1939.



Dr. Florence Murray arrived in Korea in 1921, fresh from college and eager to work. Her final destination was Hamheung, but she was appointed to supply in Yongjung during Dr. Martin's furlough. On her way north she visited Hamheung and cast a critical eye over the hospital there. Her 'First Impressions' give some idea of the disabilities under which the pioneer missionary doctors had to work. Two paragraphs are worth quoting.

"A brick building obviously constructed in sections and at different times; a disorderly array of straw and rubber shoes at the door; a small waiting room crowded with women, many of them none too clean, and carrying dirty babies on their backs; a similar room full of men most of whom prefer to sit on the floor rather than on the narrow benches provided; tiny drug room; patients and their friends calmly walking into the consulting room half a dozen at a time while the doctor is busy with another patient; well-worn paint, holes dug in the plaster, embryonic laboratory; busy assistants; patients everywhere; filthy sores; hopeless cases. And one has seen the dispensary."

"Now for the Hospital. Wards small; overcrowded; ventilation poor; patients mostly squatting on the beds instead of lying properly in them; wards full of visitors; a roll of dirty bedding under one cot; a bundle of patient's clothes under another; half a melon on a bedside table, the rind on the floor; a few dried fish on another table; no nurse in sight; every bed with its chart, fairly well kept too; operating room inconvenient; plaster coming down on account of a leak in the roof; lighting insufficient; sterilizer of ancient design and not in good running order; some good instruments and many getting loose at the joints; no anaesthetic room; no running water; no electric lighting; the septic tank out of order; the staff over-worked; the work half done. One has seen the whole institution."

Not a very pleasant prospect for a new arrival, but a battle-call for action to one of Dr. Murray's disposition. Persistence on her part, together with the inescapable requirements of government regulations, brought Board grants which enabled the mission to undertake a three year reconstruction program which transformed the institution into an efficient hospital which opened in October, 1925. Through two decades, until evacuation, Dr. Murray and her associates gave such excellent medical service that she and her hospital became household words in the community. On the 20th anniversary of her arrival in Korea the Hospital Board and the Hamheung churches gave her a testimonial dinner and presented her with citations and gifts. The meeting was chaired by the Moderator of Presbytery, Rev. Kim Kyung Chong who spoke appreciatively of her tireless devotion to her work, her practical sympathy with the sick and outcast and her burning evangelistic zeal. "She goes places and does things", he added, "that make ordinary mortals like us shudder. The beggar in his

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TO THE DIRECTOR  
FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

RE: [Illegible]

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miserable hovel, the leper, loathsome and in rags, the poor widow on a bed of straw - all know of her kindly concern." Ending with the words: "If I were the Pope, with power to canonize, I would call her Saint Florence."

### Nursing Training Course

One difficulty encountered by mission hospitals in the early days was the lack of trained nurses. The missionary nurse had not only to undertake the work to be done, but also had to train Korean women in the profession of nursing. At first, only mature women, usually widows, would offer themselves, but after the Independence Movement, younger girls, often graduates of high school, began to look on nursing as a suitable profession. The first school for nurses was opened in Severance Hospital, Seoul, and the first graduates were granted their diplomas in 1910. Yet between 1910 and 1921 only 39 nurses had been graduated.

In the smaller hospitals the missionary nurse and doctor gave lectures and demonstrations to their nurses, but no regular school was established in our mission until 1929. In that year Dr. Murray and Miss Sandell opened regular classes for three girls who took the three year course and graduated in 1932. Every year thereafter until 1940, a new class of entrants was received so that by the year 1940, when missionaries were evacuated, some 80 nurses had graduated from the Hamheung Mission Nursing School.

Mention might be made of the excellent service rendered by Miss J.D.G. Whitelaw, R.M., in Hoiryung. From 1927-1933 Miss Whitelaw conducted a Public Health Clinic in an unoccupied missionary residence, with little equipment and very little financial support, but "with a vision of better health and better standards of living for the Korean people, and with a heart full of sympathy and love for them". The work developed in a remarkable way and touched the lives of hundreds in Hoiryung city and surrounding districts.

### Canadian Visitors to Korea

During the 1920s the Canadian Mission was favoured by frequent visits from church dignitaries from home. Reference has already been made to the visit of Dr. James Endicott and Dr. (and Mrs.) Alfred Gandier. In addition to them we had a visit from Rev. J. Frazer Smith (1925), a former missionary to China; (1928), Dr. (and Mrs.) Clarence Mackinnon, Principal of Pine Hill College; and (1929) Dr. Jesse Arnup, Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board. These visitors brought great encouragement to missionaries and Korean Christian friends. It is of particular interest to note that Dr. Gandier was one of the leading figures in the founding of the Korea

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Mission, and that Dr. Mackinnon was Principal of the college that sent out the pioneers and many other missionaries of our staff.

### China Missionaries Assist in Korea

The Korea Mission gratefully welcomed the assistance given our work by missionaries evacuated from China during the chaotic period of the late 1920s. Chinese warlords vied with each other and with the newly established central government of Chiang Kai Shek for control of various provinces. Anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements added to the confusion and danger so that many of our China missionaries were advised to seek temporary work in neighbouring mission fields. The following came to Korea for brief periods of time and gave helpful assistance. From West China came Miss Martha Swann, Dr. and Mrs. T. H. Williams, and Dr. and Mrs. A. S. Allen. From the Honan mission came Dr. F. M. Auld, Miss E. McLennan, Dr. and Mrs. W. R. Reeds, Miss Winifred Warren and Mr. and Mrs. D. K. Farris. More extended work was done by Mr. and Mrs. J. B. McLhattie who supervised the building of the Hamheung Girls' schools and the Ladies' residence.

### Korea Missionary Personnel

During the 1920s the mission lost by death Mrs. D. W. McDonald (1924) and Rev. A. H. Barker (1927). Lost to our staff by resignation were Rev. D. W. McDonald (1925), Rev. and Mrs. L. L. Young (1926), Rev. and Mrs. F. G. Vesey (1926), Dr. and Mrs. T. D. Mansfield, (1926), Miss E. V. Cardwell (1927), Miss C. H. Currie (1927), Mr. and Mrs. J. G. McCall (1928). Newly appointed missionaries arrived on the field as follows:

|                          |      |
|--------------------------|------|
| Miss H. J. McMillan      | 1926 |
| Dr. and Mrs. D. M. Black | 1927 |
| Miss A. Sandell, R.N.    | 1927 |
| Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Bruce | 1927 |
| Rev. E. A. Nichol        | 1927 |
| Rev. C. R. Sutherland    | 1928 |
| Miss Francis Bonwick     | 1929 |
| Mrs. E. A. Nichol        | 1930 |

## Chapter 14

### The Fateful Thirties

The 1930s were fateful years for Japan and China, with Korea a helpless but interested spectator of the unfolding drama.

Japan had emerged from World War I a rich nation, having made remarkable strides in industry, commerce and shipping. She had enlarged



her empire to include control of the former German colonies in the South Pacific and occupancy of the German leaseholds in China. She had also extended her special rights in Manchuria and had invested heavily in that region.

China, under Chiang Kai Shek, had just come through a long struggle for unification against her own rapacious war-lords and the constant harassment of the Chinese Communist Party. Chang Tso Lin, the Manchurian war-lord, had met his death when the Japanese blew up his train near Mukden (1828). His son, Chang Hsiao Liang, had blasted Japanese hopes of a more conciliatory Chinese attitude toward their ambitions in Manchuria by flying the flag of China over his Mukden residence and pledging allegiance to Chiang Kai Shek. The prospect of a united China loomed large as a menace to Japan.

### The Rise Of Japanese Militarism

Meanwhile, the situation in Japan played into the hands of the military and led to the overthrow of Japan's early venture in democratic government. Political power had moved from the old aristocracy to the newly rich industrial barons, the politicians and the bureaucrats. Political corruption was rife. The party system brought conflicting foreign policies: one party favouring peaceful diplomacy toward China, the other advocating an 'iron fist' policy. Meanwhile the cutting of military budgets and the extension of the franchise tended to lower the prestige hitherto enjoyed by the armed forces.

There was popular resentment at the failure of the Peace Treaty to recognize Japan's special status in China, or to implement secret promises made to her during the war. The abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, at the insistence of the U.S.A., was a sever blow to Japan's self-esteem. As, also, was the refusal, largely on Australia's objection, to insert in the Peace Declaration a clause against race discrimination. Resentment was further deepened by the enforcement of naval limitations, the enactment of anti-dumping laws, & the U.S.A. discriminatory Oriental Exclusion Acts.

Adding to the general unrest and sense of insecurity were the disastrous earthquake of 1923, with its great loss of life and property, the unprecedented increase of population, a succession of poor crops and, finally, the world-wide depression of the late 20s.

Such was the background against which the Japanese military were able to rouse the people to an ultra-nationalistic policy which led to the overthrow of democratic government and all-out aggression against China.



## Establishment of the State of Manchukuo

By a curious quirk of fate, Koreans were involved in an incident that contributed to the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo. During the late 1920s the Korean Government-General began the industrialization of North-East Korea and the encouragement of Korean migration to Manchuria. In the summer of 1931, a group of Korean settlers north of Changchun decided to try growing rice in their new home. They made rice fields and dug an irrigation trench that ran through a small section of the property of a Chinese farmer. This led to a serious clash which brought a contingent of Japanese soldiers to defend their (Korean) 'nations'. The result was the death of several Chinese citizens. The incident was blown up out of all proportion and led to anti-Chinese riots in Korea and anti-Japanese demonstrations in many Chinese cities.

The Japanese Kwangtung army took advantage of the situation to stage an incident, September, 1931, by blowing up part of the railway leading to Mukden and blaming it on the Chinese army. This incident was used by the Japanese as an excuse for occupying Mukden and sending military forces into the larger centres in Manchuria. By January, 1932, all of Manchuria was occupied by the Japanese, and on March 9, they inaugurated the state of Manchukuo, with Henry Pu Yi, the deposed Emperor of China, whom they had kidnapped from his home in Tientsin, as head of state "behind a facade of compliant, well-paid, Chinese officials who did everything under Japanese orders."

## Bandit and Communist Activity

The first few years of Manchukuo saw an intensification of activity by bandits and communists. The effect of this on our mission work in Yongjung (Chinese Lungchingtsun) is described in the 1932 year end report.

"There has been constant unrest and anxiety, especially since May. In Lungchingtsun and a few large centres life is safe and comparatively quiet - but since June the missionaries have been under instructions from the British Consul in Mukden not to travel in the country. A young deacon was shot in the fighting between the Chinese and the Japanese, and a church leader was killed by communists. Five churches have been burned, four by communists and one by bandits. The year opened with almost 100 Christian groups scattered through the region. At the close there are not fifty, and many of these are so depleted that their future is uncertain. In the hospital we are scarcely ever without some patient who has been shot or stabbed by bandits or communists, and all of them feared the communists more than the bandits."

Communists were active in Korea also and their efforts were directed chiefly toward high schools, disrupting classwork and fomen-





ting strikes. We had ample evidence of it in our Hamheung Yungsaing High School. Part of my daily routine was to arrive at the school an hour before opening to gather up the home-made 'fliers' left on each desk during the night, bearing the simple design of the hammer and sickle (☞), and carrying the slogan: "Down with Japanese imperialism: Up students and strike." It paid off, for we were never caught in the frequent police raids that landed many students of government schools in jail.

It took the Japanese only a few years to get the State of Manchukuo thoroughly organized and policed so that life became more tolerable for all and much more favourable for Korean settlers. Hitherto, they had been regarded as foreigners and experienced great difficulty in securing and legally holding land. Now they were given equal rights by law with Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian and Russian citizens of Manchukuo. As Dr. Black of our mission could write in 1936: "Through this privilege of citizenship Koreans in Manchukuo can go into districts where the land is cheap but fertile with the confidence of securing a much more adequate living than in the narrow valleys of the homeland."

This, of course, was part of the Japanese plan. They encouraged migration to Manchuria. Large companies were organized for this purpose, with government backing. "One company alone", writes Dr. Black, "plans to move 800,000 from Korea to Manchuria within the next three years. Koreans are flocking into the rich plains where wheat, soybeans, rice and other crops can be easily grown. If present plans hold, it is certain that Koreans will form the major part of the population in north-eastern Manchuria."

Gradually police and military control brought greater security to settlers, and the energetic extension of railway facilities encouraged the occupation of hitherto vacant areas. Churches sprang up throughout the district and missionary itinerary work was greatly extended. Hospital work also increased in volume and importance. In 1933 the inpatient days numbered 3,403; by 1939 they had increased to 7,768. During that same period dispensary treatments rose from 8,959 to 18,993. Not only were church workers able to travel farther afield, but Korean Christians could safely travel to Yongjung for class work. A new institute and dormitory were built and the number of students attending more than doubled.

Perhaps the greatest change was seen in the educational work of the mission. With the establishment of Manchukuo our mission schools in Yongjung came under the educational department of the new government. It soon became clear that school regulations for Koreans would follow closely those that held in Korea. By 1938 new regulations were published and all schools required to register or gradually go out of existence. An annual budget approximating to that of schools in Korea was required, and Korean principals to replace missionaries.



Fortunately, the excellent work done by Mr. George Bunce and Miss Francis Bonwick as principals of our Boys' and Girls' Academies, made the change over easy to accomplish, and the cordial relationship they had built with the educational authorities made for amicable transition.

### The Shrine Issue

The heightening of Japanese nationalism brought to the fore an issue that had long troubled the church and missions in Korea. It first emerged with the completion and dedication of the National Shinto Shrine on Namsan, Seoul, in 1925. Since national ceremonies would be conducted there the question arose whether Christians could conscientiously participate in them. Requests for clarification brought the official reply that ceremonies held at the shrine were not religious but civil rites, aimed at unifying and strengthening the national spirit. In order to reassure the Christian community, the Vice-Governor-General of that day ordered the administration of affairs relating to the Shrine to be transferred from the Religious Section of the Educational Department to the Social Section of the Department of Internal Affairs.

The issue became acute from 1933 on when the Japanese military involvement in China led to the demand that schools participate in rites performed at local shrines. The missions were divided in their attitude to the issue. Some missions refused to participate, even to the point of closing their schools. Others accepted the government's assurance that the rites were civil rites rather than religious. After much heart-searching, the Canadian Mission, with the support of the Korean Presbyteries in our district, decided to keep our schools open in the hope that functioning, as they were, under Christian auspices, with predominantly Christian staffs, and permitted to continue a degree of religious work among the students, we would be able to exert a positive Christian influence at a time when it was sorely needed.

Writing as late as December, 1939, I was able to report as follows:

"We find there is still scope for Christian witness. Worship and Bible study are conducted much as formerly. Christian teachers are still able to make their influence felt. The Committee on Religious work of the Student's Society finds opportunity for Christian service. The presence of a missionary is a constant reminder of the larger affiliations of the Christian church. One regrets the division in mission ranks but we believe and



pray that God, in His wisdom, may use both policies to His glory, blessing alike the witness of the closed door and the witness of continued service."

### The Laymen's Missionary Report - Re-Thinking Missions

From the late 1920s the western world was hit by the great economic depression which cut deeply into the givings of Christian people for foreign missions. This led to a movement in North America on the part of influential laymen to re-appraise the motive, purpose and practice of Christian missions. It began with a meeting in New York, in 1930, of a group of laymen of one denomination. This was followed by a joint meeting of seven denominations, each unofficially represented by a group of five men and women, who united to form the directors of the 'Laymen's Foreign Mission Enquiry'.

The method followed was to devote two years to the study. The first year was given over to an on-the-spot survey of four mission fields - India, Burma, China and Japan - undertaken by The Institute of Social and Religious Research. Their report was then taken by an Appraisal Commission of fifteen members, headed by Professor William Ernest Hocking of Harvard University. This Commission studied the survey report and also visited the fields in question, on the basis of which they made their own appraisal which was published, in 1932, under the title of 'Rethinking Missions'.

The book was widely regarded as the big religious book of the year, and while meeting with mixed reception by most mission boards, its study was generally enjoined on all missionaries on the field. Our Canadian Board sent several copies to the Korea Mission and urged us to give careful study to it. In accordance with this suggestion the mission held a conference which covered several sessions of the 1934 meetings of mission council. A committee was appointed to draw up a list of suggestions toward the mission policy arising out of the discussions. This list was ordered printed in the 1934 minutes and ran to seven pages.

The gist of our findings may be summarized as follows:

1. Appreciation - While regretting that Korea was not included in the countries visited, we welcome the opportunity offered and the stimulus given by the report to 're-thinking' our own mission work.
2. Re. Personnel - We recognize the need for more careful selection and preparation of candidates for missionary service, and for more adequate training of Korean church leaders to ensure closer integration of the Christian program with daily Korean life.



3. Re Methods of Work - We consider that the fruits of past missionary effort in Korea warrant our conclusion that future success may be expected from a wise modification of the methods hitherto followed rather than from a radical break with them.

We further believe we are right in continuing to urge upon men and women a positive decision for Christ, fellowship in the organized church, and the cultivation of a personal religious life by prayer, Bible study and Christian witness.

At the same time, we would emphasize the need for a wider conception of evangelism to include the Christianization of all life and the establishment of the Kingdom of God in Korea. The Christian movement in Korea must be a Korean movement, and we urge Korean church leaders to assume the responsibility of working out for themselves ways and means of giving expression to the spirit of Christ in church, school, hospital, home, office, farm or other spheres of life.

4. The Missionary and the Korean Church - We believe the time has come when responsibility for and supervision of organized churches should be wholly undertaken by Korean leaders.

Missionary co-operation with the Korean church will still require attendance at church courts, but sessional powers or the right to vote in Presbytery or Assembly should soon be entirely relinquished.

The missionary's ability and personality should be such that Korean church leaders will naturally seek counsel and advice from him, and such contacts should be encouraged. To prove equal to such trust the missionary must be more intellectually alert and better informed.

5. Re Lay Workers - More emphasis should be placed on adequate training of lay leaders, and missionaries might find greater scope for specialized work in this field.

6. Re Educational Work - The mission can still make an important contribution by helping to maintain a few schools of distinctive Christian character and of high standard of excellence; with religious teaching in the minds of competent teachers.

7. Re Medical Work - In view of the fact that government and private hospitals exist in most large centres the mission ought to re-think its medical program to determine along what lines it can make its most effective contribution. Further development of the following lines of work should be considered: tuberculosis control work, community health programs, district nursing, baby clinics, mothers' training classes.

8. The Missionary Home - Greater use might be made of the missionary home in promoting fellowship with Christian and non-Christian Koreans, thus fostering sympathetic understanding between peoples of different races.





These suggestions were adopted as guidelines for our mission and proved helpful in the difficult days that were to come in the second half of the 1930s.

### The Depression Era

The extent to which the depression era affected the finances of the United Church of Canada can be seen from a study of the following table. The first column shows the givings of church members to the Missionary and Maintenance Fund of the church through the years 1928 to 1936. The second column shows the appropriations made from that fund to the Foreign Mission Board.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>M &amp; M Income</u> | <u>Appropriations to F.M.B.</u> |
|-------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1928        | \$ 2,885,929            | \$ 1,020,000                    |
| 1929        | 2,696,710               | 1,003,000                       |
| 1930        | 2,721,269               | 830,000                         |
| 1931        | 2,405,326               | 800,000                         |
| 1932        | 1,864,355               | 691,000                         |
| 1933        | 1,713,856               | 457,750                         |
| 1934        | 1,585,167               | 458,500                         |
| 1935        | 1,632,610               | 445,000                         |
| 1936        | 1,559,008               | 417,000                         |

The year 1928 saw the M & M income and the F.M.B. appropriations at their highest since church union. From that time on, both columns show an annual decrease until they reach alarming decreases in 1932, 1933. The F.M.B. appropriations for 1932 were \$109,000 less than in 1931, and in 1933 were again reduced by \$234,000 - a cut of 43% in two years.

In order to maintain the church's foreign mission work without too drastic cuts, the F.M.B., during the years 1932 to 1935, drew heavily on their reserve funds. By 1935, however, these funds were exhausted and the Board was faced with the necessity of reducing its 1936 budget by \$127,000.

This made the latter part of 1935 a time of unprecedented anxiety and painful decision for Board and Mission. Rumour had it that the question of withdrawing completely from Korea had been considered. The F.M.B. advised us of the emergency and asked us to consider ways and means of meeting a very substantial cut. The Mission Council discussed the matter at great length and drew up the following guidelines for future action:

1. That reduction of missionary staff be given equal consideration with the common practice of spreading cuts equally over all phases of the work.



2. That the quality of work done take precedence over quantity, and the usefulness of the missionary take precedence over numbers.
3. That, in voting on the return of missionaries, as suggested by the Board, the following matters be considered: (1) proficiency in language, (2) usefulness to the work, (3) remaining years of service.

The F.M.B. Policy Committee proposed a cut in the Korea Mission budget for 1936 of \$40,000, an amount equal to 50% of our 1935 budget. The mission strongly protested and was supported by appeals on our behalf from the Korean General Assembly, the Presbyterian Council and our sister mission in Japan. Because of this protest the Board reduced the cut from \$40,000 to \$25,000. This was further reduced by the generous gift of \$5,000. from the W.M.S.

There still remained the painful task of deciding how to meet the \$20,000. cut in our 1936 budget. After long and agonizing discussion, in the mission executive committee, the following plan was submitted to Council and adopted:

1. Withdrawal of four missionary families,
2. A further contribution of 10% of salaries of all F.M.B. missionaries - an action in which the W.M.S. missionaries graciously begged leave to participate.
3. Further reduction of work budget.

Voting on the four missionary families who should be asked to withdraw was based on a two-third majority, and resulted in the following being named: Dr. and Mrs. Robert Grierson, Dr. and Mrs. D. M. McRae, Rev. and Mrs. R. McMullin and Rev. and Mrs. C. R. Sutherland. The Mission Council also made a special plea to the Board on behalf of the two senior and pioneer members who were being forced to retire several years before the official retirement age.

#### Death of Dr. A. F. Robb

As if the sorrow and agony of mind that accompanied our deliberations regarding the reduction of staff and curtailment of work were not enough for one year, the month of October, 1935, dealt us another cruel blow in the sudden death of Dr. A. F. Robb. He died at his post as Professor of Church History in the Pyengyang Theological Seminary. After an appropriate funeral service in Pyengyang, attended by his students, fellow professors and a large number of local Christian friends, the casket was brought to Hamheung and interment made on Sunday, October 27. The respect, honour and love with which



he was regarded was evidenced by the large number of Korean Christian friends, from city and country churches, who joined his fellow-missionaries in paying their last respects.

### Industrial Development and Self-Support

Fortunately for the Korean church the severe cuts in mission grants coincided with an industrial boom in North Korea which increased the income of church members and encouraged greater effort at self support of their churches. The avowed aim of the Government-General during the 1930s was the rapid industrialization of North Korea. Extensive hydro-electric installations were built to supply power for Nitrate Fertilizer plants, munition factories, iron and steel works and other industries. According to Korean opinion, this development was part of the military plan to make Korea a powerful economic base for Japanese expansionism on the continent.

Be that as it may, it is true that Korea benefitted materially from it. Dr. A. E. Armstrong, our Board Secretary, who had recently visited Korea could write as follows in 1936:

"North Korea refuses to recognize the depression. Development is the order of the day. It shows itself in agriculture, fishing, mining, lumbering, transportation, industry, and the building trades. The population of the territory is increasing rapidly. Money is more plentiful. Retail merchants are doing well. Farmers generally have had good crops and have received good prices for their products. People look well-dressed and well cared for. Many and better homes are going up, particularly in the cities. Motor buses and trains are doing a good business. The streets of the larger towns and cities show marked activity."

The good times were reflected in greater effort at self-support. Salaries of pastors and other church workers showed marked improvement and new and better church buildings began to appear. Rev. W. A. Burbidge reported, in 1937, that in the Hoiryung district, "there are nine pastors, six lay preachers and five Bible women who are now supported entirely by the churches in which they work." Adding something more important than finances: "The gain is to the worker who enters upon a more intimate relationship with his parishioners. He is now their minister and not just a worker sent to them by Presbytery and supported by foreign money." Our mission statistics show that the Korean support for church workers rose from \$19,475 in 1928 to \$42,678 in 1938. Expenditures for church buildings, during the same period, rose from \$6,608 to \$36,631.

### Institutes and Clinics

Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of our work in the period under consideration was the improvement of institute work and the opening of rural clinics.



One of the results of our 're-thinking' our mission work was the conviction that the times called for a better trained lay leadership for local church groups. The Korean church and missions had always stressed Bible study, and most churches held annual classes, ranging from three days to a week, for both men and women. There were also Bible Institutes held each year in every mission centre, running from three to six weeks. These were invaluable means of producing an intelligent Christian community, for those who attended not only found their own lives enriched but carried back enrichment to the church groups they came from.

During the 1930s, Presbyteries and Mission sought to improve the institute work, both from the point of view of the physical accommodation and the range and quality of the work done. New institute buildings and dormitories were provided in most of our centres, and the regular subjects of Bible study, church history, doctrine and administration were re-enforced by classes on personal and family hygiene, community welfare, and improved farming methods. All done with a view to relating more closely the truths of the faith to daily living, and encouraging the student to apply the principles of Jesus to every area of life.

### Better Baby Clinics

The idea of 'Better Baby Clinics' sprang from the fertile brain of Miss Maud Mackinnon. Returning to Korea in 1929 after a prolonged leave of absence, first because of ill health, and later because of studies in Social Science, Miss Mackinnon initiated a Social Evangelistic project in the Wonsan district. With the co-operation of Korean nurses she organized welfare clinics in most of the country churches, paying visits to them on a regular schedule. Reviewing the work after a five year period she could report that 1600 mothers had enrolled in the classes and that the result had been "Better Mothers and Better Babies".

"The mothers were better mothers physically because of the instruction given in hygiene, food values and general health; more alert mentally because of our insistence on conducting classes and clinics on the question and answer method; alive in a new way to the message of Jesus through the practical application of that message to the problems of the home and the individual needs of the mother and child."

"1600 babies growing up from infancy in contact with the church environment, and registered in a welfare organization working within the church. 1600 homes to which Christian nurses and Bible-women have ready access."

These "Welfare or "Better Baby Clinics" proved so successful in Wonsan that they became part of the program of work carried on by our W.M.S. missionaries on all stations of our mission.





### Rural and Social Institute

A further development in institute work was the opening, in 1936, of a Rural and Social Institute under the leadership of Miss Maud Mackinnon and Rev. W. A. Burbidge. At first planned to be held for six weeks in Wonsan and six weeks in Hoiryung consecutively, it was later decided to concentrate on one location, Sungjin being chosen as most central for the whole mission.

The aim of the institute was to train carefully selected lay leaders from rural churches, men and women, who would spend six weeks or longer on an intensive course in rural welfare work.

The morning sessions were devoted largely to Bible study and church leadership courses; the afternoons to theoretic and practical courses in crop rotation, stock raising, weaving, handcraft, social welfare and first-aid practice. Several evenings were devoted to group conferences and the practice of community social gatherings.

The institute functioned with marked success for several years and gave promise of great good. Unfortunately, the worsening political situation and the evacuation of missionaries led to its being discontinued.

## Chapter 15

### PEARL HARBOUR AND EVACUATION

By the middle of the 1930s the Japanese military were securely in the saddle using violence or the threat of it to compel succeeding governments to ever deepening involvement in military adventures. Between 1932 and 1936 no fewer than three premiers or ex-premiers were assassinated by extreme nationalists in military uniform. All effort to enlist the Chinese behind their "Asia For the Asiatics" program having failed, the Japanese military staged an incident at the Marco Polo bridge, near Peking, July 7, 1937, which led to all out undeclared war against China, and the placing of Japanese industry on a war time footing.

Fascinated by the initial success of Nazi policies in Europe, Japan sought alliance with the Axis powers. In 1936 she signed an Anti-Communist Pact with Hitler's Germany, and in 1940 joined the Tripartite Axis Pact with Germany and Italy. In 1941 she acquired from the French Vichy government naval and air bases in French Indo-China, which led the U.S.A. to declare an embargo on war materials to Japan. This, in turn, led to high level diplomatic talks in Washington, during which the U.S.A. insisted on the withdrawal of



Japanese forces from both China and Indo-China. These talks were still in process when the Japanese Air Command attacked the American Fleet in Pearl Harbour, December 7, 1941 (December 8, in Japan).

### Increased Pressure on Korea

From the time of the Marco Polo incident the heavy hand of Japanese militarism became more noticeable in Korea. Under the slogan of "Japan and Korea One Nation" the Government-General began to enforce measures aimed at complete integration of the two countries. Exclusive use of the Japanese language was required of all. Korean language and literature were dropped from the school curriculum and the use of Korean by students severely punished. Public buildings, schools, churches and even homes were required to fly the Japanese flag. The school day began with obeisance to the flag, and in the direction of the Emperor's palace, followed by the recitation of the loyalty oath. Individuals were pressured into abandoning their Korean names and adopting the Japanese equivalent.

Christian organizations with international affiliation, such as YMCA, YWCA, Christian Endeavour Society and Sunday School Association, were required to renounce their connection and seek representation only through the 'parent' Japanese organization. Eventually the Korean churches were compelled to make radical changes in their constitutions, dropping all references to freedom of faith, conscience, worship and government, and deleting all articles dealing with the status of work of foreign missionaries. It was a trying time for all and perhaps the most charitable word that can be said about the Korean reaction to it is that of Dr. C. A. Sauer: "For the most part the church is yielding a point here and there to hold its very existence. Fear and terror may bring conformity, but never loyalty."

Various motives lay behind the encouragement by Japanese officials of a movement in the Korean church toward complete independence from foreign support and connection. These included: desire to assert Japan's dignity as a first-class nation, with no need of foreign leadership; desire to guard the Korean church from undue foreign influence, ecclesiastical or otherwise; the desire to reconstruct the church polity and outlook in line with the new Japanese nationalism; the desire to stimulate a national consciousness among the large and influential Christian group and enlist the church's support of the national policy of a "New Order in East Asia."

The movement found only lukewarm support and whatever was done was done with tongue in cheek. Moreover, the heavy cuts in mission grants had already made it necessary for the Korean church to assume almost entire self-support. Our personal relationship with our Korean brethren remained as cordial as ever, and any evidence of greater caution was always accompanied with the apologetic hope that we would understand the reason.



## Evacuation Of Missionaries

Isolated as we Canadians were in North-East Korea and limited, as most of us were, to news derived from the government controlled English language paper 'The Seoul Press', we were unaware of the growing seriousness of the international situation. The first indication of it came from our missionaries in Seoul who were in touch with consular authorities. American Mission Boards, backed by the American government, had chartered the S.S. Mariposa to be ready to evacuate their nationals if and when such action seemed necessary. Dr. and Mrs. S. H. Martin of the Canadian Mission, made urgent appeals to be allowed to seek passage on that ship. Dr. Martin was far from well, and Mrs. Martin, as an American citizen, was greatly concerned about him and the children. They sailed for home on the Mariposa early in the fall of 1940.

By this time our own Mission Board and the British Consular officials began to warn us that evacuation might be necessary and urged us to make preparations towards that end. First came the advice that families with children leave the country. This was followed by an 'order' that all women be evacuated, and strongly urging all men to withdraw temporarily. With mission council consent, Messrs. Fraser and Scott petitioned the Board for permission to remain on the field. This was followed by a similar request from Dr. Florence Murray and Miss Beulah Bourns. Both these requests were granted.

Rev. E. J. O. Fraser, as mission treasurer, carried on the heavy responsibility of securing passage for the evacuees on regular boats sailing from Japanese ports, a task in which he was greatly assisted by the generous co-operation of our missionary colleagues in Japan, Drs. Outerbridge and Albright. By March, 1941, all our missionaries had left Korea with the exception of the four mentioned above. Behind their decision to remain was the hope that the presence of a few missionary friends would be an encouragement to the Korean church, would soften the shock of almost complete withdrawal, would enable them to give some supervision to the work, and provide a liaison with the Japanese authorities in matters relating to mission work and property.

## Events of 1941

The events of the year 1941 can be followed in fair detail from Mr. Scott's letters home which have been preserved. Some things are worth recording because they tell of the last days spent by Canadian missionaries in that part of Korea that had been home to the Canadian Mission since 1898.

Of the four missionaries remaining, three of them were located in Hamheung: Dr. Florence Murray and Miss Beulah Bourns in hospital work,



and Mr. William Scott in school and church work. Mr. E. J. O. Fraser continued to reside in Wonsan, some 80 miles south, connected by rail.

Dr. Murray and Miss Bourns were more than usually busy in their hospital work. Dr. Koh Byung Gan, of Severance Hospital, had already been installed as hospital superintendent, and was maintaining the high standard of excellence set by Dr. Murray. The extension and re-construction of the tuberculosis building, made possible by the generous gift of Y15,000 by Rev. A. A. Pieters of a sister mission, was Dr. Murray's chief concern and called for constant supervision. Along with her work in the hospital, Miss Bourns was principal of the nursing school, and in September officiated at the capping ceremony of 12 new happy graduates.

In addition to his school work, which began every day at eight o'clock, Mr. Scott was busy editing the Canadian number of the Korea Mission Field, which was issued towards the end of May. His letters show that invitations to preach in city pulpits were still being made. During May, he and Mr. Fraser made an extensive visit to northern mission stations, carrying encouragement and cheer to our Korean colleagues and establishing contact with Korean committees, school and hospital boards, inspecting all mission property and checking on arrangements made for its care and protection.

In July, Mr. Scott and Dr. Murray paid a visit to the newly acquired mission cemetery plot in Hamheung, to which all graves from other mission stations had recently been transferred. As we bowed our heads in a last prayer of remembrance, the Japanese caretaker's wife reverently participated. On July 10, Messrs. Fraser and Scott represented the mission at the wedding, in Seoul, of Horace Underwood and Joan Davidson, conducted in the Anglican cathedral, with the elderly Father Drake officiating, assisted by Father Hunt. This same month, Mr. Scott attended the funeral of Rev. Kang Hak Nin, a long-time friend of the mission, in Sungjin. Our little group were deeply saddened by the news of Dr. S. H. Martin's death in America, July 24.

Mr. Fraser, in Wonsan, was kept busy with his work as Mission Treasurer and Board Correspondent. He also had building work to supervise as well as consultation regarding church and school work. In addition to this he was kept busy deciphering and collating new documents relating to the early days of the Mission - board correspondence, financial and work reports, and mission council minutes, written by hand and kept, through the years, in the mission safe. None of these valuable records, unfortunately, were allowed to be brought out of the country.

Toward the middle of July Miss Bourns and Messrs. Fraser and Scott visited Whajinpo, the missionary summer resort, to consult





the caretaker, inspect the property and, incidently, enjoy a few days vacation. The vacation was rudely interrupted by the publication by the Government-General of "Financial Freezing Orders", which applied to all foreigners and required extensive detailed reports to be presented to the authorities before the middle of August. This necessitated an immediate return to Wonsan and Hamheung.

### Increasing Government Pressure

The month of August was spent preparing property, financial and work reports for presentation to the government, the burden of which fell heavily on Mr. Fraser and was made more difficult because of our separation in two locations. Later in August new regulations were issued restricting the movements of foreigners, which led us to suggest that Mr. Fraser wind up his work in Wonsan and take up residence in Hamheung. He did so and from early October we were all together in one location, in Hamheung, the provincial capital.

The fall months brought increased work and increasing official pressure. In August the Central Hamkyung Presbytery was disbanded and its congregations transferred to the North and South Hamkyung Presbyteries, according to provincial boundaries. In September the South Hamkyung Presbytery quietly dropped the names of missionaries from the roll, apologetically notifying us secretly of their intention in order not to embarrass us. That same month we received a request from the Japanese Mayor of Yongjung for permission to rent the vacant mission houses and the Institute dormitory to house Japanese military personnel. We could not well refuse but replied that it would be necessary for us to visit Yongjung to negotiate their occupancy. This necessitated the long process of securing travel permits and the visit to Yongjung of Messrs. Fraser and Scott, October 10-24.

On October 20, stringent postal regulations were published. All foreign mail must be taken unsealed to the Post Office, and no codes, symbols, or invisible ink to be used. Though letters were sent up to the date of our internment, December 8, the last one received by Mrs. Scott is dated October 10.

We had frequent meetings regarding the Wonsan Bible Training School. The principal, Rev. Cho Hi Ryum, was eager to have it registered with the government and was seeking the necessary endowment. Since the mission was unable to provide it, he was negotiating with a young man from Seoul who claimed to own rich mining property. The missionaries resolutely discouraged the deal, believing that the school should not fall under the control of any one individual. We finally decided that the Bible School, together with all other mission property, should, in the event of complete mission withdrawal, become the property of the Presbytery Holding



Body, and under the jurisdiction of Presbytery.

The above decision applied also to our schools. A change in the head of the provincial educational department brought fears that an effort would be made to have our schools transferred to government ownership. Korean principals had long since been appointed. Next came the order that "founders" be Korean nationals and that they have the power to transfer the schools to the government if so requested. After long and exhausting negotiations we finally persuaded them that the only solution that would be acceptable to the Mission Boards would be the appointment of the Presbytery Holding Body as the "founder", with the property held in the name of the Presbytery. The over-zealous head of the educational department was later reprimanded by the Government-General for his excessive demands on the missions.

In order to forestall further requests to rent vacant mission property, due to the withdrawal of missionaries, we decided on the following: rental of the McRae house garden property to the Girls' High School as a 'practice garden' plot; rental of the Nichol house to the hospital for temporary use as a maternity ward; and, if and when vacated by the missionaries, the rental of the W. M.S. residence as a dormitory for Korean nurses.

During all this time our relations with the local officials were remarkably cordial. We had occasion several times to meet the chief of police and the commandant of the gendarmerie to request travel permits to Seoul and Yongjung on mission business. and were always assured that our persons and property would be well-protected no matter what happened. The cordiality of our relations is seen from the fact that on November 18 Mr. Scott entertained the Chief of Police and his second in command to dinner in his home, and had arranged for a similar entertainment of three officers from the Gendarmerie on December 8, the very day of the outbreak of the Pacific War.

Pearl Harbour - December 8 (Japanese count)

Then came the thunderbolt! Mr. Scott went to school as usual at 8 a.m. and was immediately informed by his Korean colleagues that "the Japanese Air Force has sunk the American fleet in Pearl Harbour". His first reaction was to dismiss the report as completely incredible. He was only convinced when, at ten o'clock, the Japanese Emperor went on the air to announce that Japan was at war with Britain and the U.S.A.

Realizing that things might be happening at his house, he left the school and made for the mission compound. He first visited the hospital to inform the ladies, and then hastened to his own house to



break the news to Mr. Fraser. As he entered the mission gate he glanced over his shoulder and saw five gendarmerie officers coming up the hill, three Japanese and two Korean. He had just got home and made things presentable when they arrived at the door. They came in and informed us, very politely and rather apologetically, that Japan was now at war with the U.S.A. and the British Empire.

They assured us, as formerly, that we had nothing to fear, that our property and persons would be safeguarded. But they 'advised' us to stay indoors. They gave a special warning to Mr. Fraser to be careful of his actions. We thought this was due to the fact that he was a stranger in the city. The ladies were given the right to continue their work in the hospital, the only foreigners allowed that privilege in Korea during the war, but were advised to have no communications with Koreans other than in the course of their work.

In the evening the investigation officer of the gendarmerie returned to ask Mr. Fraser to accompany him to the office and to prepare for an overnight stay. We learned next day that he was being detained because of his acquaintance with a Mr. Pearson, manager of the Rising Sun Petroleum Storage plant near Wonsan. This man was suspected of espionage, and since Mr. Fraser had had close association with him and his family he, too, was suspect. Wonsan was a fortified zone, and Mr. Pearson had served in the British Navy in World War I. It took several weeks to prove the suspicions baseless.

Mr. Fraser was detained from December 8 to 30th. He was confined in a small, but clean and warm, cell in the gendarmerie. He slept on a Japanese straw mat, with blankets under and over him, supplied by them. He was allowed to receive his meals from Mr. Scott's house three times a day. All communication between him and the others were forbidden. The Scott house and the Ladies Residence were searched and cameras, telephones, bicycles, radios, etc. sealed up. The ladies were called once to the gendarmerie for questioning and Mr. Scott several times. But throughout the period of our imprisonment there was no violence done to any of us; we were treated with respect, and an effort made to ease our ordeal.

During the period of Mr. Fraser's imprisonment a guard of two gendarmes, one Japanese and one Korean, were stationed in Mr. Scott's house, day and night, with orders to keep him under constant surveillance. His appeal that Mr. Fraser might be released for Christmas failed, but he was permitted to invite the ladies to his home for Christmas dinner, the first time we had met since the outbreak of war. On request the guard gave us permission to hold a brief Christmas worship, but insisted that we hold it in Korean so that they would know what was said. Our protest brought the compromise that we could hold it in English provided it was confined to scripture reading and prayer. Since this was the first opportunity of informing



the ladies exactly what had happened Mr. Scott's prayer consisted of a detailed report to the Lord of the entire incident, and an expression of thanks that all was going well!

Mr. Fraser was released on December 30, and from that time on we came under the jurisdiction of the city police, with only infrequent visits from the gendarmerie. The guard was removed and we were given permission to move within the mission grounds, and to visit the ladies' residence or the hospital if necessity required it.

### Life During Internment

Life for Dr. Murray and Miss Bourns went on much as usual. They were fortunate in that they were busy at their regular daily work, with little time or necessity for thinking about world affairs. Messrs. Fraser and Scott were isolated in their own house and compound, with no contact with outside beyond the infrequent visits of police or gendarmes. We spent our days reading or studying Japanese. What news we got from Japanese sources was far from reassuring. We learned that with dismay of the sinking of the two British battleships, Repulse and Prince of Wales, off Malaya; the surrender of Hong Kong, Singapore and Manila, and the occupation of Java.

There seemed no stopping the Japanese take-over of the entire Pacific area. Our guards frequently expressed surprise at the weakness of the British defence of their territories. Nor was news from the European front less doleful. France had long since capitulated; England was under constant air attack and threatened with invasion; Germany had declared war on Russia and was extending her conquests in Europe and Africa. The opening months of 1942 were dark with foreboding.

Several things helped to maintain our morale during these dismal days. One was the frequent visits of Detective Kim Yung Soo of the city police who went out of his way to befriend us and bring us cheer. Another was two large pictures I had received before the outbreak of the Pacific war. One was that famous picture of Churchill, showing the resolute, defiant, bulldog expression that inspired courage in so many. The other was a picture of St. Paul's Cathedral illuminated against a dark night sky by the flames of burning buildings in the vicinity, but standing seemingly unscathed. Together with these was a verse of John Buchan's that I had learned somewhere and which kept going through my mind:

"May I never falter the wide world through,  
 But stand in the gate;  
 May I stand in the mist and the clear and the chill,  
 In the cycle of wars ...  
 With my eyes to the stars ...  
 The sword in my hand and the foot to the race,  
 The wind in my teeth and the rain in my face."





Toward the end of our internment we became a little bolder and made use of a good American radio left by the Nuns and which, somehow, had escaped the sealing up process to which the gendarmes had subjected the others. Uncertain about possible snooping by police or gendarmes at night, we studied ways and means of using it without the sound being heard by anyone listening outside. We finally decided on placing the radio in the middle of a double bed, covered with thick quilts, with us kneeling on the floor with our heads under the quilts. We were never able to determine where it came from, but it was on this radio that we heard a brief report in English of the American naval victory over the Japanese fleet in the Coral Sea, on May 7, 1942. That was enough to go on, and since we were then in process of preparing for repatriation, we did not want to jeopardize our chances of going home, and so discontinued our illicit eavesdropping on news of the world.

### Repatriation

We were working in the garden when the news first came. Our detective friend came on his bicycle to inform us that negotiations were underway for an exchange of Canadian and American internees for Japanese in Canada and the U.S.A. The date was April 6, 1942, and we were told to be ready to leave within two weeks. We were called to the Provincial Police Department to be officially notified, and to express our willingness to go. This was followed by a hectic preparation of reports on property, application for the appointment of a custodian, storing of furniture and packing of suitcases. We were to be allowed to take along only as much baggage as we could personally carry, and with all printed matter, photographs and written or typed material forbidden.

In the midst of this preparation and after we had generously disposed of most of our remaining canned food stuff, secretly, to Korean friends, word came that negotiations were held up and the date of departure postponed. Six weeks later, on May 20, the second notification came, this time without a hitch. During the interval we received word that the Government-General had approved our nomination of the Presbytery Holding Body as custodian, with Rev. Kim Hyung Sook as Director-in-Chief. We were also able, with the assistance of our Korean secretary, Mr. Chang Chung Kook, and the co-operation of Mr. Kim Neung Keun, to draw up official statements of the mission's decision that school and hospital property be transferred, if necessary, to the Presbytery Holding Body.

A few paragraphs from the report we made later to the Mission Board may not be amiss:

"During the last few weeks the ladies were given several farewells, in camera, from hospital groups, and all of us received frequent gifts of foodstuff from our Korean friends.



"Saturday, May 20: Through the good offices of our detective friend, Messrs. Fraser and Scott were allowed to make courtesy calls at Provincial and city offices, the police station and the gendarmerie, and to visit our own schools. Everywhere we were cordially received, with expressions of sympathy for us in our detention, thanks for the work the mission had done over the years, and the hope that soon conditions would permit our return. Our chief surprise and pleasure was the thoughtfulness of our police friend who suggested that Mr. Scott meet and address the boys of the Academy in the Assembly Hall - the first time in many months that the Korean language had been heard in that place."

"Sunday, May 31: This was our last day in Hamheung and a memorable day it proved to be. Dr. Murray and Miss Bourns went to the hospital and made their morning rounds as usual. After lunch, and as all four of us sat at table, our little group celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's supper in English."

"At 3:30 in the afternoon, the city church friends were allowed to come and say farewell to us. Between 60 and 70 of them came and conversation was carried on without let or hindrance. At the close, the Central Church pastor, Rev. Lee Hak Bong, led in prayer, and as soon as he ended one of us stepped forward and raising his hands in blessing, in the name of the Canadian Mission, committed them and the Korean church, to God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The whole proceeding was so spontaneous and so obviously fitting that it left a deep impression on all."

"June 1, 1942: Next morning, June 1, we left for Seoul on the 7 a.m. train, escorted by two plainclothes men, one of whom was our detective friend. The hospital staff were at the gate to see us off, and a few brave souls from schools and churches waved us farewell at the station."

"We took the 8 p.m. train from Seoul to Pusan. On the Seoul station we met the other missionaries and business men who had been interned, and learned how they had fared. Altogether we made a total of 99 from Korea, including consular and business folk, and Catholic and Protestant missionaries. We travelled second-class coach overnight to Pusan, and crossed by ferry to Shimonoseki in the daytime, but were not allowed on deck. We travelled by night from Shimonoseki to Kobe, again without sleepers. At Kobe we were marched from the railway station to the Emigration Institute, near the Tor Hotel, lugging our baggage with us, where we were interned for two weeks. Here we slept twelve to a room, rubbing shoulders with your neighbours. We lived on an unappetizing diet of fish, bread and tea, usually sugarless. We travelled, again by night, from Kobe to Yokohama where we boarded the "Asama Maru", June 17, which lay one week in Tokyo Bay before finally leaving on our one month voyage to Lourenco Marques, in the Portuguese East African colony of Mozambique, where the exchange with Japanese nationals took place."



We were a motley group drawn from a variety of occupations, Japan, Korea and China each contributing its quota. All distinction of high and low was drowned in the common denomination of "refugees". The Japanese crew were courteous and respectful, but avoided any sign of familiarity. It was war time and food stuff was limited, the greatest inconvenience being the scarcity of water, both for drinking and bathing.

We travelled under guarantee of "safe conduct" with white crosses showing on the sides of the ship and an illuminated cross by night. But there was always the possibility of a submarine lurking in the depth mistaking us for a troop ship. Reading material was limited since we were not allowed to bring any printed matter on board. Games and sing-songs were our chief source of entertainment, the musical talent of the Maryknoll fathers being especially appreciated by all.

Mr. Scott spent some of his time playing with words and two of his creations in doggerel, appended to this chapter, describe life on "The Refugee Ship", and "The Gripsholm".

#### Exchange At Lourenco Marques

We arrived at Lourenco Marques to find the Swedish ship 'Gripsholm' which had brought the Japanese nationals from Canada and the U.S.A., already tied up at dock. The exchange took place the next day, and what a contrast it proved to be. The Gripsholm was a neutral ship, well appointed, well equipped, well stocked and well officered. We were warmly welcomed aboard, and though we had to stand in line for the hundredth time, to be checked, examined for inoculations, registered for cabin and berth, we were soon made to feel at home. Our first meal, served buffet style on deck while the stewards cleaned the cabins after their former Japanese occupants, was out of this world. It was a long time since we had seen so much food in such variety and abundance. And best of all, there was a plentiful supply of water in the cabins and in the swimming pools. Movies shown in the lounge added to the entertainment.

A highlight of our brief stay in Lourenco Marques was the visit of Miss Annie Blake Scott, M.A., to her brother, Mr. William Scott. Miss Scott had taught mathematics in a Girls' High School in Johannesburg for many years. She regaled us with the story of her struggle to obtain a visa to enter Portuguese East Africa to visit her brother on the Gripsholm. Only through her persistence and the help of highly placed officials in the government did she finally break through bureaucratic red tape. The often repeated "but we never did this before" of the passport office was met with Miss Scott's rejoinder "but we never had a war like this before". A Scottish lady's determination won the day.



The five weeks' voyage from Lourenco Marques was a pleasant one. We stopped one day at Rio de Janeiro where we were allowed to go ashore. The Canadians on the passenger list were entertained by the Canadian Embassy people there. Meal arrangements on the Gripsholm were four to a small table. Mr. Scott happened to have Miss May McLachlan of our Japan mission as companion at one table. We spoke freely about the Japanese, and of the friendships a missionary makes. At the same table was an American who had been in business in China. He must also have had some connection with the American C.I.A., for when we arrived at New York Miss McLachlan and I were questioned at length by the agents scrutinizing the passengers before we were allowed to land. A special train was waiting on the dock to which the Canadian refugee group was hurried, and after a night trip we arrived in Montreal to be welcomed home by our families.

We four from Korea prepared a comprehensive statement for presentation to the Mission Boards, written on M.S. Gripsholm, Equatorial Atlantic Ocean, August 15, 1942, which ends as follows:

"This report brings to a close another chapter in the history of our Korea Mission. We have left behind us a church and affiliated institutions into whose building went much devoted work over a long period of years. That church and these institutions still carry on and we trust His Word that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against them". We left behind us, at their helm, a body of earnest and able Christian men and women, our brothers and sisters in Christ, who have shown remarkable patience and devotion under most trying circumstances. It is probable that a harder lot awaits them now that their missionary friends have been completely withdrawn. May we bespeak for them, as they themselves begged of us, our continued co-operation among the unseen forces, on that battleground where we wrestle not with flesh and blood but with the powers of evil. For they, with us, believe that the battle which is being joined today is ultimately a battle of right against wrong, of the powers of light against the powers of darkness. And they are confident, as we are, that though the future is unknown, it is in the hands of God."





The Refugee Ship

'Twas a stout good ship we sailed that day  
 When we said goodbye to Tokyo Bay,  
 But we knew there might be the devil to pay  
   Ere we got to Mozambique.  
 So we carried the good cross here and there  
 Blazoned big, as an urgent prayer,  
 To the Death that lurks in his ocean lair  
   More lawful prey to seek.

For truth, no common ship was she,  
 Nor the freight she bore to the south countree,  
 For every soul was a 'refugee'  
   From a 'Sun' that had grown too hot.  
 Consuls, newsmen, merchant, saint,  
 Victims all of war's constraint,  
 Homeward bound without complaint  
   To share their country's lot.

The consular folk were a goodly crew  
 Ably captained by Ambassador Grew,  
 A little non-plussed at having nothing to do  
   With an enemy ship at sea.  
 Eyes of the world, with a nose for news  
 Roaming around for interviews  
 Ears all open for copy to use  
   To blast the enemy.

Knights and ladies of the cross of Christ  
 Quietly keeping their daily tryst,  
 God's own troubadours, greatly prized  
   For their gift of song and cheer.  
 A few fair maids who had not been kissed,  
 And a good many more who were off that list.  
 Stranded sailors who sorely missed  
   Their daily ration of beer.

Men who had bought and men who had sold;  
 Men who had dug in the East for gold;  
 Some of them young and some of them old  
   Strangely subdued and meek.  
 Three score children, babies three,  
 Waifs of war in the China Sea.  
 Oh we were one right good company  
   On the way to Mozambique.

So, here's to the fiery cross by night  
 And the crosses white by d'ay;  
 And here's to the god of the sea who gave  
   Our ship the right of way.



Life On The Gripsholm

There at her berth lay the good ship Gripsholm.  
Happy is the thought that the memory brings!  
All past miseries would soon be forgotten in  
A change of ships and of many other things.

A bluff good captain and his well-groomed officers,  
Sparing no pains in an effort to please,  
Wrapt us round in an old-world courtesy  
That soon put our fear-ridden minds at ease.

Mountains of good things to whet jaded appetites,  
When had we seen such abundance before?  
Fish, flesh and fowl in infinite variety,  
And velvety ice-cream that called for more.

Fruit by the cart-load, and all kinds of cereals,  
Green stuff for vitamins - asparagus to peas;  
Eggs and bacon and ham to satiety,  
White bread, brown bread, crackers and cheese.

Water in the cabins and water in the swimming pools,  
Irons in the laundry, and napkins for our tea;  
Movies in the lounge and various festivities,  
For those who had a long thirst an open bar at sea.

Gone was the nightmare of life as a suspect;  
Gone were the woes of the internee;  
Somebody had thought of us and planned for our comfort,  
And life on the Gripsholm was home-like and free.

What though they queued us up for all sorts of busy-ness,  
What though the sea made us feel a little queer;  
These were as nothing to the thought that possessed us  
That home and our loved ones were ever drawing near.

Home we came to Canada, by Rio and New York,  
Glad to breathe a freer air again,  
Home with our own folk to fight for the liberties  
Bequeathed by God to the sons of men.



Chapter 16Honourable Mention

As we come to the end of one era in our mission work in Korea I should like to pay tribute to certain members of our Canadian staff. I have hitherto refrained from doing this for fear of discriminating among many men and women who have given faithful service. Extended reference has already been made to the original pioneers. They were followed by two strong personalities - Dr. A.F. Robb and Miss Louise McCully - to whom a brief reference will be made. I shall then make a more extended reference to one of our younger men - Rev. D.A. Macdonald.

Dr. A. F. Robb was the author of the letter, signed "Student" which appeared in The Theologue, the monthly publication of Pine Hill Theological College, which re-opened the discussion that led to the founding of the Korea Mission. He was appointed to our staff in 1901 and during a life-time devoted to Korea he served on four of our five stations, was four times chairman of the mission and once vice-Moderator of the Korean General Assembly. For many years he was part-time lecturer and later resident professor of church history in the Pyengyang Theological Seminary. His deep, personal commitment, his firm theological conviction, his wide knowledge of Korean church life and his lively interest in all phases of missionary activity made his influence felt for good in our own mission and throughout most of Korea. His sudden death in 1934, while still active in his teaching position, was a great shock and a sore loss to the mission and the Korean church.

Miss Louise McCully was appointed to Korea in 1900, only two years after the arrival of the pioneer group of five. She had already spent some time in China but had to leave that country because of the Boxer uprising. She early recognized the leadership potential of Korean women and immediately set herself to the task of training them for church work. She established the Martha Wilson Memorial Bible Institute (called after the maiden name of her mother), which later developed into a Woman's Theological Training School. She became widely known for her promotion of education for girls, the organization of YWCAs and WCTUs, the founding of W.M.S. groups in local churches and Presbyteries and the establishment of a National W.M.S. for all Korea. Her stay in China made her particularly interested in work among Chinese settlers in Korea, encouraging the founding of Chinese churches in our section of Korea and in the Vladivostock area of Siberia. She will long be remembered as a gracious and dynamic champion of the place of women in church and school and in Korean society generally.

Rev. D. A. Macdonald

Among the younger missionaries of our Canadian Mission, I make special mention of Rev. D.A. Macdonald, both for his own personal



worth and for the reason that, in my judgment, he best typifies the particular emphasis the Canadian Mission sought to make in its work.

Rev. D. A. Macdonald, or "D.A." as we affectionately called him, was a son of the manse. He graduated from Toronto University in 1905, and from Knox College in 1908. After spending three years in a pastoral charge in Fort William, Ontario, he was appointed to Korea and, together with Mrs. Macdonald, arrived there in February, 1912.

"D.A." spent most of his missionary life on two stations of the Canadian Mission: Hoiryung, 1912-1921, and Wonsan, 1921-1935 with a brief stay of two years, immediately before his untimely death in Hamheung, 1936-1938. He was a lover of nature and a lover of men. You seldom saw him without a flower in his lapel, and when he itinerated among the country churches, it was invariably on foot so that he could leisurely enjoy the beauty of the Korean landscape and talk with country folk by the way. Wherever he went, his manly bearing, his friendly attitude, his own personal devotion and integrity of character, together with his emphasis on the practical rather than the doctrinal aspects of the faith, endeared him to a wide circle of friends, Korean and missionary. Rounding out these qualities and adding to the loveableness of the man were his never failing cheerfulness and sense of humour. It might have been said of him what was said of one greater than he:

"His humorous eye took in each phase  
Of full rich life this world displays,  
Yet evermore kept fast in view  
The far-off goal it leads us to."

#### Nashville and Detroit

"D.A.'s" interest in foreign missions sprang initially from his connection with the Student Volunteer Movement. He attended two S.V.M. conventions, the one in Nashville in 1906, and the other in Detroit, in December, 1927. His report on the second, written for the May 1928, issue of the Korea Mission Field, is worth referring to. "I was one of the Knox College under-graduates", he writes, "on the Canadian Special that sped through the night on its way to Nashville. We were both obvious and audible. We had great streamers on the train, proclaiming our objective: 'The Evangelization of The World In This Generation', and at stations enroute we enlivened things with missionary hymns." He closed the first paragraph with the words: "Since then I have travelled far. I have seen Christianity at work in other lands. I have met with non-Christian religions. I have widened in knowledge and experience, and I came to Detroit."

Then follows an elaboration of three points of contrast between Nashville and Detroit. (1) At Nashville the younger churches





were represented by missionaries; at Detroit they spoke for themselves. (2) At Nashville, the emphasis was on the conversion of the individual; at Detroit, while not forgetting the individual, the emphasis was on the need for "foreign missions dealing seriously with war, industrial problems, racial questions, church unity," (3) at Nashville, the emphasis was on the mission of the sending countries; at Detroit, the mission was regarded as "a co-operative enterprise, in which Christians of all nations and races join together in sharing their best with each other and in trying to bring about the kingdom of God."

This change of emphasis in preaching the gospel was not new to "D.A." As early as 1922, he had written an article for the K.M.F. on "The Christian Message For the Korea of Today", in which he stated that "while the Christian message is fundamentally the same for all people and all times, the emphasis and method of presentation should change from time to time, and be determined by the ever-changing conditions of the local situation." He then goes on to ask whether the time had not come, in Korea, to emphasize the ethical rather than the doctrinal, the social as well as the individual appeal. He also touches on another subject that was much on his mind: "We missionaries will not be held guiltless for carrying over and fastening on the shoulders of our Korean brethren the denominational burdens which our home churches are even now struggling to free themselves from."

His concern for the social implication of the gospel led him to translate and adapt for Korean use "The Social Creed of the Churches", a publication of the Association Press. His condensed version was an unpretentious book which was published by the C.L.S. It was favourably reviewed by Dr. Charles A. Sauer of the Methodist Mission, who recommended it to all pastors, adding the words: "If we had more of this taught, fewer of our young people would be turning to the gospel of Karl Marx."

### Practical Evangelism

After his return from the Detroit meeting "D.A." made a strong plea for a re-appraisal of the missionary task and a change in the method of evangelism. He was one of a number of missionaries asked to give papers on the subject of Practical Evangelism before the Federal Council of Missionaries in 1930. Parts of that address may betray a touch of pessimism or even cynicism, but the overall emphasis is worth preserving.

He began by telling how he had tried to break through the complacent optimism of a group of Korean church workers regarding the indestructibility of the church by pointing out that there are areas of Europe and North Africa which once were strongholds of Christianity where today no Christian churches are found. "Is it possible", he asks, "that the great church of Korea may go the way of other churches which had their day and ceased to be?" He could not know that we would live to see the day when the church in north Korea, the stronghold of Korean Christianity before Liberation, would vanish under communist occupation.



He points up the pre-occupation of missionaries and Korean church workers with church people and church affairs to the neglect of civic concerns and people outside the church. He confesses his own failure. "I have often found myself turning with longing to look at the men down in the real life of the community", he writes, "successful business men, busy farmers, influential bankers, labour leaders, government officials. I have lived ten years in Wonsan. I know many of the men by sight, but they never think of coming near me, and I hesitate to intrude on them. Yet these men may have much in common with me, and would probably respond more readily to my message of a Christian program for the new Korea than the church members are doing."

What, then does he propose? Briefly, the following:

- Widespread use of small study groups as an alternative, or in addition to, the current dependence on mass evangelism, even as Christ did with the twelve.
- Open discussion of the message of Christianity for the Korea of today.
- Honest effort to so present the Christian faith that the educated Korean can hold it "without being intellectually dishonest or disloyal to his new knowledge."
- Recognition of the fact that Korea has shared in the world-wide revolt against authoritarianism, and in the demand for a scientific approach.
- Greater need for the missionary to keep abreast of the best theological thought, and to mediate it to the Korean church leaders. Adding the caustic remark: "There is much downright intellectual laziness among us masquerading as spirituality."
- Need to recognize that not all that is outside the church - the so-called secular - is evil, just as not all that is inside the church - the so-called spiritual - is good. "Many young communists are deliberately living simple lives, turning their backs on money, worldly position, comfort and safety, for the sake of their ideals."
- Lastly and chiefly, the need for missionaries and Korean church leaders to give practical demonstration, in their daily lives, of the validity of the gospel they preach. "We preach the doctrine that belief in God and Jesus will transform life and produce unselfishness, courage, brotherly love, peace of mind, tolerance, self-control, humility, but we, the proclaimers of that message, are selfish, fear-ridden, suspicious, irritable, narrow-minded, greedy and ambitious."



There is nothing particularly new in what Mr. Macdonald said, but it was something that needed to be said to the missionary group and to the Korean church. Nothing came of his appeal, but it is worth remembering. I have always regretted that he was not spared to return to a Korea that was liberated and which needed the very counsel he gave more than a decade before. Our Canadian group would have been greatly strengthened by his presence. But it was not to be. During a summer stay at Whachinpo he was stricken with encephalitis, type Japan B, which was epidemic in Korea at the time, and died within a week, September 3, 1938. Sleep well, good friend.

### Canadians In Other Missions

Since this historical sketch is entitled "Canadians in Korea" it seems fitting that a brief reference should be made to Canadians who served in other missions. The following served under the Northern Presbyterian Church: Mr. Robert McMurtrie, Mr. H. T. Owens, Dr. D. B. Avison, Miss K. M. Estab, R.N. With the American Methodist Church were Dr. Sherwood Hall, Dr. Norman Found and Miss Rosenberger. Mr. George A. Gregg served with the International YMCA. A brief note on those who retained close association with Canada must suffice.

1. Mr. George A. Gregg was a Toronto man, the son of a Presbyterian minister. His practical bent led him into technical work in YMCAs in Canada and the U.S.A.

In 1906 he was appointed by the International YMCA to open industrial work in the YMCA in Seoul. Under his capable leadership, this branch of work expanded into training courses in printing, the making of wood, iron and wicker furniture, and commercial photography.

Through 21 years of life in Seoul Mr. Gregg was active in the Union Church there. He taught S.S., was superintendent for five years and church organist for 16 years. He was unmarried, but carried around with him his 'viol' which he loved to play, and which he called 'his wife'.

He returned to Canada in 1927 because of ill health, and died in Toronto, September 24, 1939.

2. Mr. H. T. Owens was born and educated in Montreal. He took special courses in Commerce in a YMCA night school and also through extramural work from Queen's University.

He was on the staff of recording secretaries of the Canadian House of Commons when Dr. O. R. Avison recruited him, in 1918, for secretarial work in Korea. He gave 15 years of invaluable service as business manager and treasurer of Severance College and hospital, and of the Chosun Christian College. He retired to Montreal in 1933.

3. Dr. D. B. Avison was a second generation missionary, the son of Dr. O. R. Avison. He followed in his father's footsteps and took the medical course of Toronto University Medical School, and on graduation proceeded to Korea as a medical missionary under the Northern Presbyterian Board. He served in Syenchun from 1920-23, and thereafter in Severance College and Hospital.



4. Dr. Sherwood Hall was also a second generation missionary, the son of Dr. William and Mrs. (Dr. Sherwood) Hall. He and his wife, who was also a medical doctor, served in Haiju (1926-40), under the Methodist Episcopal Mission. They built up a 20 bed Sanitarium and a School of Hygiene for Tuberculosis patients. They also initiated a Korean Christmas Seal Campaign to secure funds for T.B. work.

5. Dr. Norman Found was born near Oshawa, Ontario. He graduated from University of Toronto Medical School in 1919. During his internship he was influenced by Dr. D. B. Avison to consider work in Korea as a medical missionary. He and Mrs. Found arrived in Korea, December, 1921, under appointment by the Methodist Episcopal board. He spent several years in the Kongju area, doing medical itinerating without benefit of hospital facilities. In 1927 he was appointed to Severance Hospital and College, where he gave devoted service until 1935 when military encroachment on affairs in Korea began to crowd out missionary doctors. Returning to Canada he carried on a private practice in Toronto from 1937 until 1967. He and Mrs. Found maintained close relations with our mission through membership in the Korea Fellowship. He retired from practice in 1967, owing to ill health, and resided in Peterborough, Ontario, until his death in March, 1971.

Chapter 17

The War Years

During the war years, from June 1942 to June 1946, there were no Canadian missionaries in Korea. Those who were evacuated, realizing that several years might pass before they could return, sought work at home or on other mission fields of the church.

The ordained men of the mission, - Rev. A. R. Ross, Rev. E. J. O. Fraser, Rev. W. Scott, Rev. W. A. Burbidge, Rev. E. A. Nichol, and R. C. Nunn - secured pastoral charges in Quebec and Ontario. Mr. George Bruce found scope for his educational training as head of the Correspondence Section of the Department of Education of the Government of Alberta.

We record with regret the sad fate of Rev. Roland Bacon. He was transferred from Korea to the Central India Mission. While there he enlisted in the Indian Army, with the rank of Captain, to work with Korean volunteers in Burma, against the Japanese. Unfortunately, he was killed in action, near Mandalay, March 13, 1945, the only casualty of the war in our mission.

Of the W.M.S. missionaries who were evacuated, Mrs. A. F. Robb retired from the mission after 40 years of distinguished service. Five





were given leave of absence to pursue other work - Dr. Florence Murray, Misses Lenora Armstrong, Frances Bonwick, Mary Thomas, and Dorothy McBain. Ten were reassigned by the W.M.S. to work in Canada or Trinidad, or to pursue studies, including Misses Maud Rogers, Edna McLellan, Ethel MacEachren, Maud Mackinnon, Emma Palethorpe, Gertrude Cass, A. M. Rose, Ada Sandell, Elda Daniels, and Beulah Bourns. It might be noted that during this time Miss Daniels completed her theological studies and was ordained as a minister of the United Church, and Miss Rose graduated from the Hartford Seminary with the degree of Bachelor of Religious Education. Miss Florence Taylor and Miss Frances Stevenson, who had been in Korea only a brief period of time, were reassigned to the India Mission.

While one regrets that so many missionaries were lost to Korea and other mission fields, it is undoubtedly true that the presence in the home church of so many workers from various mission fields must have stimulated greater interest in world missions among many congregations in Canada.

#### Conditions in Korea During the War

Korea's doubtful loyalty to Japan spared her the universal conscription that applied in Japan proper, but tens of thousands of Korean laborers were transported to Japan to release Japanese work men for military service. Wartime industries were established in Korea which not only employed cheap Korean labour but squandered much of Korea's forest and mineral wealth. As the war progressed school work was badly disorganized and college and high school students were frequently drafted for duty as members of the home guard, or workmen in factories, or in digging bomb shelters.

Life was severely regimented and the people generally felt the pinch of war-time measures. Production was limited to the necessities of life. Food, fuel, clothing, etc. were strictly rationed. The highly prized Korean rice was commandeered by the government at fixed prices, and transported to Japan for the use of the armed forces. In its place, the Korean populace was compelled to eat inferior rice imported from Burma or Indo-China. The traditional Korean dress was banned and men and women were compelled to wear wartime clothes, and to contribute to the war effort whatever gold or silver trinkets they possessed.

The extreme measures taken by the Korean administration to compel compliance with Japanese imperial aims are well described by Dr. Kim Kwan Shik in his address before the Committee of the International Missionary Council, meeting in Whitby, Canada, July, 1947. "During the war years, and immediately preceding them," he writes, "the Korean people were subjected to the extreme nationalistic policy of the Japanese government. We lived in a police state where every thought, word and deed was under scrutiny, and where to be an educated Korean



was to be suspect. We were under pressure to change our names from Korean to Japanese names. The use of the Korean language was largely abolished. Every effort was made to crush the soul of Korea and to give us new birth as Japanese citizens. But this was not to be. The Korean people, together with other races in the Orient, stand in awe before the God of history who answered with an emphatic 'No' and brought stern judgment upon the Japanese nation."

#### The Korean Church During The War

Dr. Kim goes on to report conditions in the church. "During the war church activity was greatly curtailed. Sunday as a day of rest had to yield to the need for war effort. Worship was allowed only in the evenings, after the day's work was done. Pastors and other church workers were often impressed into factory work. Retreats and evangelistic meetings were forbidden, as were also Bible Institutes which used to play so large a part in Korean church life. Small rural churches were often closed and their members ordered to worship in a neighbouring church. The hymnbook was revised to delete all references which did not accord with the Japanese national policy." The one relieving factor in this picture of gloom was the fact that "throughout this period the churches alone, of all Korean bodies, were allowed to continue the use of the Korean language" in their worship.

Dr. Kim refers in deep humility to the vexed issue of shrine worship and collaboration with the Japanese war effort. "Four groups can be distinguished", he writes, "(1) those who opposed the Japanese to the bitter end, suffering imprisonment, torture and even death; (2) those who left their churches and went into retirement or business to avoid compromising their faith; (3) those who followed a prudential policy, not too readily consenting, nor too strongly antagonizing, and thus leading their flocks through with a minimum of suffering and loss; and (4) those who collaborated with the Japanese to a greater or smaller degree."

Most of the church leaders followed the prudential policy, "not too readily consenting, nor too strongly antagonizing", but it was a time of grave heart-searching for all. Behind them was the terrible force of a ruthless government, using subtle as well as forcible means of winning acquiescence. Each leader, in his own locality, confronted by local officials had to act as he considered best for his local church, with little or no means of consulting senior church courts. Most Christians gave lip service to Japanese demands while seeking to maintain and strengthen their faith by greater diligence in worship, prayer and Bible study. As one missionary put it, in his address to the 1942 General Council of the church: "The Korean church is facing the present trial much as the mountain ash faces the winter storm. It bends to the wind, but drives its roots more deeply into its native soil and waits for the spring."



After liberation the church was sorely divided over this vexed issue and church leaders, in spiritual retreats, went through agonizing times of repentance and tears. Some of the worst collaborators lost the confidence of the church and left the ministry, but the consensus was that the matter should be left to the individual conscience before the throne of God. To quote Dr. Kim again: "The leaders were to encourage one another to reconsecrate themselves to their divine task and prove worthy, by God's help, to be representatives of Christ and spiritual leaders of the new nation."

### Brutality of Military Police

Toward the end of the war the Japanese military police seem to have vented their wrath on Korean leaders who had had close connection with foreign missionaries. Rev. Cho Hi Ryum and Rev. Lee Kyoo Yong of the Wonsan Bible Training School were both imprisoned and maltreated, Mr. Cho finally dying from torture. In Hamheung, Mr. Lee Seung Ki, Secretary of the local YMCA, Rev. Kim Kyung Chong, Chairman of Presbytery, and Rev. Kim Ju, formerly a helper of Miss MacEachren's were imprisoned and badly tortured. Miss Kim Kyung Soon, helper to Miss Rose, died while being given 'the water treatment', under interrogation. Dr. Moon Chai Rin was imprisoned in Yongjung and Songjin and narrowly escaped death.

### Russia Enters Korea

The capitulation of Japan finally led to the withdrawal of Japanese troops and officials but did not spare Korea from the excesses of her Russian 'liberators'. To quote Dr. Kim once again: "I will not recount in detail the agonies through which our people passed during the first wild onrush of Russian troops from the North. Suffice it to say that before control was finally established, we had been subjected to such violence and plunder that the memory of it will not easily be forgotten." We learned more about it from our refugee friends from the Hamkyung provinces. Cities like Hamheung and Wonsan were happy hunting grounds for Russian soldiers, mostly peasant lads to whom luxuries were unknown. It was a common sight to see Russian soldiers roaming the streets with several loaves of bread under their arms, the product of some local bakery. Anything that could be hidden on the person, like gold rings, wrist watches and fountain pens, were common loot. More bulky things like radios, sewing machines, money from the vaults of banks, and goods from jewelry stores, found space on military vehicles. Wrecking crews were kept busy dismantling expensive machinery in Japanese factories, each part being marked for shipment and re-assembling in Vladivostok or other Siberian city. Russia was amply repaid, materially, for her intervention in the defeat of Japan, and Korean individuals, households and businesses paid their share of the cost.



## Chapter 18

### A New Era In Church and Mission

With Korean liberation, the church and mission entered a new era of their history. To begin with, we were no longer a mission in the old sense of that term. Our small group of Canadian missionaries were under orders to subordinate ourselves to the autonomous church or related institutions, and to co-operate with them as requested. We came to be known as the Korea Mission Group or Committee of the United Church of Canada.

Moreover, we were a refugee group, unable to return to our former field of service. The Hamkyung provinces and Kando were under Communist rule. Schools, hospitals, Bible institutes and missionary residences were in communist hands, and the Korean churches were struggling for survival. No missionary was allowed to enter the north. One Northern Presbyterian missionary did receive permission to pay a brief visit to Pyengyang. Through the help of a Russian military officer who sympathized with his wish to visit the grave of a child of his who had died in Pyengyang, Dr. William Blair was allowed to visit that city. His report, on return, was far from reassuring. He told of a very unsatisfactory interview with Kim II Sung, the number one Korean in the north, who later became Premier. He resented Dr. Blair's presence in Pyengyang and spoke scornfully of missionaries and the Christian religion. Dr. Blair met and worshipped with his old Korean friends but got the impression that his visit was an embarrassment to them, bringing them under greater suspicion. As the weeks and months went by, the Communist attitude hardened and it became evident that a return to our former field in north Korea was neither possible nor advisable.

### Location In Seoul

There were several factors that made it seem wise to make Seoul the centre of our work, at least for the present. (1) Among the thousands of refugees from north-east Korea were hundreds of Christian friends who naturally looked to us for encouragement and help. (2) Seoul was the location of many union Christian institutions with which we had always been affiliated, and which sorely needed help. (3) Of all the Canadian Mission property we had owned before the war the only piece remaining was the residence and lot in the capital city. As it turned out, we were to find ample scope for our energy in work that opened up for us in Seoul.

### Relief Work for Refugees

It was inevitable that our refugee friends from the north should claim priority in our concern. Many of them had travelled south by devious mountain paths to avoid contact with Communist border





guards, and arrived with little more than the clothes they wore. Fortunately, some of us had been able to bring trunk loads of relief goods with us on our return, and very soon relief parcels began to arrive in the name of all our missionaries. These made it possible for us to do a considerable amount of relief work. I personally would like to pay tribute to the courtesy and co-operation we received from the Canadian Red Cross in Toronto. While waiting for a travel permit I was able to collect several trunk loads of relief goods - overcoats, sweaters, socks, woollen gloves and scarves, towels, hair brushes, combs, soap and shaving outfits - all of which were gratefully received by many a refugee individual or family. Miss DuBrisey of the Toronto Red Cross was especially helpful, even to the point of driving me to and from her home to pick up a trunk she donated to help carry relief goods to Korea.

Relief goods also came to Korea from Church World Service, a union organization in the U.S.A. with which our Canadian churches co-operated. Until November, 1947 bales of clothing from that organization were transported on U.S. army ships and handled entirely by the army, through Korean government officials. From that time on, however, in view of the fact that the relief goods came from churches at home, the army allowed missionary organizations to assist in the work of distribution and gave each mission its quota of bales. Our missionaries organized a Korean committee to handle this work, ably headed by Mrs. Shin Ai Gyoon Hyun, with a sorting centre in the basement of the F.M.B. missionary residence.

#### North-East Korea Christian Fellowship (Kwanbook Kidok Kyo-oo-Hoi)

As refugee friends from the north increased daily we suggested the organization of a North-East Korea Christian Fellowship. It met once a month in the West Gate Presbyterian Church and proved a useful means of communication among friends scattered here and there throughout the city of Seoul. It was a clearing house through which newly arrived refugees made themselves known and discovered friends from the same section of the north. Meeting in the afternoon, one Sunday a month, it did not interfere with them worshipping in churches near their residence. It was a temporary organization which served well in the first years of migration from the north, offering an opportunity of worship with friends and an exchange of information regarding families already in Seoul, or newly arrived.

The organization functioned well for two years until refugee families joined churches already in existence in Seoul or formed new church groups. More than forty new churches sprang up in the city of Seoul, some of them making use of former Japanese Shinto or Buddhist buildings, others securing army tents to provide a place for worship. As one travelled the city he was constantly astonished to hear the words of a Christian hymn being sung in some refugee's temporary shelter. The reality and worth of the Christian fellowship was constantly being demonstrated in the most unexpected ways and places, and the Christian symbol - the cross - became one of the most conspicuous symbols seen.



### Predominance of Youth

One could not fail to be impressed by the predominance of youth among the refugee population. This was particularly noticeable in church congregations, and made one realize that if congregations survived in the north they must be made up largely of elderly people. The reason, of course, was that only the young could face the ordeal of escaping from Communist rule and the hazards of refugee life in the South. North Korea had always been the stronghold of Christianity and the migration of so many young Christians from the north was like a blood transfusion to the less vigorous churches in the south. Schools and colleges were taxed beyond their capacity, and the work of the YMCA and YWCAs and Christian Endeavour Societies flourished. Each denomination had its own theological college and enrollment exceeded anything known in the past. The Chosun Seminary, the official theological college of the Korean Presbyterian Church, had an enrollment of close to three hundred students.

### Work Of Canadian Missionaries

Our work centred chiefly around refugee churches and union institutions. Seldom a Sunday passed without us occupying the pulpit of some refugee church hoping to bring encouragement and cheer by our presence and message. The meeting places were usually unheated in winter and the refugee friends fared better than we did, sitting on the floor, as they did, packed closely together for warmth. They used to tell us they had become accustomed to the cold in their unheated homes and felt better than they did in former days. They usually honoured the missionary by seating him on the only chair in the building. He preached from a make-shift pulpit, with his overcoat on. I remember one particularly cold Sunday when the elder at the church I was visiting moved the chair to a spot where the sun's rays penetrated and said to me: "Dr. Scott, sit over here and enjoy the light and warmth of God's own sun."

### Dr. E. J. O. Fraser:

During our first year in Seoul, Dr. Fraser and I spent some time teaching in various union institutions. Later, however, Dr. Fraser's administrative ability was recognized and he was appointed Foreign Secretary of the Korean Christian Literature Society, a post he held for eight years until his retirement from Korea for health reasons. During that time he helped carry that institution through the difficult years of rehabilitation. Throughout the Japanese war years, the K.C.L.S. had barely maintained its existence. The property was held by an all-Korean Juridical Person, under the chairmanship of Bishop Ryang Ju Sam of the Methodist Church, but production of material was discontinued for lack of paper and by Japanese restrictions on printing. On liberation, the Juridical Person was re-organized and given recognition by the Korean Government.

Business was resumed by sorting out and placing on sale stocks on hand, and by preparing new manuscripts for printing in the newly



revised Korean script (Han-keul). The chief obstacle was still lack of paper for printing and lack of funds to get the work done. Dr. Fraser carried on extensive correspondence with co-operating boards in America and elsewhere which brought generous gifts of hymn books printed in U.S.A. by offset process, and also gifts of paper and funds for the printing of Sunday School lesson helps and other material required in church work. Funds also came for the rehabilitation of the K.C.L.S. building, and the addition of an upper story to house the Korean Christian Broadcasting Station, H.L.K.A.

One of the most important decisions made by the K.C.L.S. Board during Dr. Fraser's term of office was the appointment of a Korean to the office of General Secretary. In 1949 Rev. Kim Choon Bai, a long time co-worker with the Canadian Mission, was appointed to that office and gave excellent service to the entire Christian community over a period of twenty years. He not only brought together able collaborators in the translation of much needed present-day Christian books, but persuaded the three largest denominations to unite in the publication of a Union hymn book, which went through several editions before being replaced by the present hymnbook in the 1960s.

In addition to his work as Foreign Secretary of the K.C.L.S., Dr. Fraser acted as Treasurer for the co-operating boards in receiving and transmitting funds in aid to such union work as the National Christian Council, the Korean Council of Christian Education, World Literacy work and so forth. Since there were only two Canadian missionaries in Korea during the first year after liberation, both Dr. Fraser and I were kept busy representing our group on various boards and committees.

#### Dr. William Scott

As already mentioned, perhaps because we were an 'orphan' mission unable to return to our former field of service, our two Canadian missionary men were in demand to assist in union institutions. Early in 1947 I was asked to supply as Foreign Secretary of the Korean Bible Society until the arrival of Mr. James Robertson from England. The property of the society was held in the name of the British and Foreign Bible Society and, on the outbreak of war, was regarded by the Japanese as Enemy Alien Property and the Society put out of business. Immediately on liberation, Mr. Chung who had given many years of devoted service to the Society, as chief Korean secretary, got permission to re-open the premises and begin work again. Generous gifts of New Testaments from the American and British Bible Societies enabled sales to be made. Meanwhile, preparations were made for the re-organization of the Society as a Korean Bible Society, and eventually completed. With the arrival of Mr. Robertson and the appointment of Mr. Lim Yung Bin as Korean General Secretary work was begun on the new translation and reprinting of the scriptures in the new Korean script.



My own major assignment finally became that of preaching and teaching. At first, the teaching was done in both the Chosun Theological Seminary and the Chosun Christian University, but from 1948 it centred wholly in the former. In that year, by the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, I was appointed a full-time professor in the Chosun Seminary, with teaching responsibility in Church History and Old Testament subjects. As teaching was carried on in the Korean language it called for long hours of careful preparation, in which I was ably assisted by Mr. Kim Neung Keun and later by Mr. Kang Ju Han. I owed a debt, also, to Mr. Lew Hyoung Ki (later Bishop) whose Korean-English and English-Korean dictionaries were my constant companions throughout these years. I still treasure a first edition copy of the Korean-English dictionary, dated 1947, and the English-Korean copy, dated 1950.

Mention of Bishop Lew recalls our first introduction to him in person. One afternoon, in the fall of 1947, Dr. Fraser and I were exploring side streets in Seoul looking for furniture for our Canadian residence when we came across a printing establishment with the English caption "New Life Press". This roused our curiosity and we went in to find Mr. Lew busy at a desk preparing the MSS of a new Korean translation of the English Bible, amid the din of a printing press which was busy producing parts of that work already completed. We introduced ourselves and he showed us over the premises. But it was evident that he was working to a tight schedule and impatient to get back to his translation, so we did not prolong our visit. We left with the impression of an able young Korean wholly dedicated to the task of enriching the Korean Christian Church and community with the best of Christian literature translated into his native language. His indefatigable zeal had already produced, among other works, a translation of the Abingdon Bible Commentary, and now was eagerly engaged in producing the two dictionaries mentioned above and a new translation of the Bible, in parallel Korean and English columns. The Korean Church and community owe him a debt beyond words.

Another Korean whose friendship we were to cherish was Dr. Song Chang Keun, the principal of the Chosun Theological Seminary. He has asked me to address the student group of the Seminary, shortly after our return to Korea. In introducing me he paid special tribute to the Canadian Mission for its emphasis on providing scholarships for post-graduate study, and quoted the proverb: "If you would live one year plant a garden, if ten years plant a tree, if a hundred years plant a man." He referred to the many men whom the Canadian Mission had assisted in post-graduate study abroad, naming Chai Pil Keun, Kim Kwan Shik, Cho Hi Ryum and Moon Chai Rin.

One of the most happy and rewarding experiences of the early years after our return was my term as honorary pastor of the Seoul





Union Church. By the fall of 1947 the number of missionaries and other civilians in Seoul had increased to the point where it seemed advisable to re-organize the Seoul Union Church. It met every Sunday afternoon, at an hour that did not conflict with attendance at Korean services, and was a welcome means of intermingling and spiritual fellowship for varying groups of English-speaking residents of Seoul. Hitherto, the work of the pastor had been limited to the preparation of a list of those who would preach, each person being responsible for conducting the entire service. When asked to assume the office of pastor I made the stipulation that the pastor, or his assistant, be responsible for conducting the service. I did so in the hope that, by this means, greater continuity and depth of congregational life might be attained. This proved to be acceptable to the congregation and was greatly appreciated. I held this office from 1947-1950.

#### W.M.S. Missionaries:

Since the Canadian Mission had no ladies' residence in Seoul, the W.M.S. missionaries, on return, were scattered in the homes of sister missions, often at a distance from each other. This made it difficult for them to have as close contact with refugees from the north as the men missionaries did. Their chief means of contact was the monthly meeting of the North Korea Christian Fellowship, where their presence and help was greatly appreciated by the women refugees.

During the first two years Ewha University claimed priority in the service rendered by our W.M.S. Missionaries. The college of pre-war days had become a university with eight separate departments: English, Christian Social Work, Home Economics, Physical Education, Music and Fine Arts, Medicine, Nursing and Pharmacy. Dr. Murray and Miss Sandell were connected with the Medical and Nursing Departments of the university, and also worked at the East Gate Women's Hospital. Rev. Elda Daniels shared in the formation and work of the Christian Social Work department, which also had responsibility for religious teaching and the worship periods. Miss Dorothy McBain taught in the English Department for a time, but had to withdraw from work in Korea because of sickness in her home in Canada.

Meanwhile, Severance Medical College and Hospital, with which our mission had long been connected, was undergoing rehabilitation and reorganization. It had encountered serious trouble during the war years. Japanese influence and control was dominant, even to the point of changing the name from 'Severance' to 'Asahi', and the breaking of all ties with missionary organizations, in personnel or financial support. On the return of missionaries after liberation co-operation was restored and the medical school and hospital re-organized under its original name of Severance. In the course of events Dr. Murray and Miss Sandell gradually transferred their ser-



vices to Severance medical and nursing needs, and were joined in this by Miss Beulah Bourns when she returned to Korea.

It should be noted that Dr. Murray was requested by the Educational Department of the Korean Government to assist in the rehabilitation and re-organization of the Seoul National University Medical College and Hospital, and gave considerable time and effort to this work.

With the return of Miss Annetta Rose in 1949, the W.M.S. decided to co-operate in the work of the Chosun Theological Seminary, and agreed to her appointment, on the Seminary request, as professor of Religious Education, a position for which her studies in Hartford duly qualified her, and which she held with distinction until she retired from Korea. Miss Rose shared with Dr. Murray the newly acquired W.M.S. residence on the O.M.B. compound. (The General Council of the United Church in 1944 had changed the name of the Foreign Mission Board to the Board of Overseas Missions.) This proximity of residences enabled the W.M.S. missionaries to assume a greater share of the relief work we carried on behalf of refugees from the north.

#### Other Lines of Work

Until 1949 our church work had been largely confined to refugee churches in Seoul. In that year the Kyungki Presbytery, with which we were associated, asked us to assume responsibility for church work in the county of Suwon, adjoining the city of Seoul. This required the purchase of a three-quarter ton truck in the cost of which both Boards shared. We were assisted in this work by students of the Theological Seminary, and by Christian professors and students of the Suwon Agricultural College. Plans for extensive use of audio-visual equipment in this district were rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the Korean war.

We were glad to have a share in the establishment of a Christian Broadcasting Station in Seoul. Our W.M.S. made a grant of \$5,000 for this work in 1949, and promised a similar grant in 1950. Equipment was purchased in the U.S.A. and was on its way to Korea when the Korean war broke out. Previous to this the Radio Station HLLKY, was able to purchase time from the Korean Government-operated stations and had already begun broadcasting choir performances, bible study lessons, and church services. Not until 1954 did the station finally complete its own installation and begin active broadcasting. It has provided a variety of programs of religious and general interest, including the best of western music which has been widely acclaimed by Christians and non-Christians alike.

#### Ferment in the Korean Church

Liberation also brought a new era in Korean church thought and action. Under the Japanese regime initiative in political affairs



had been effectively curbed and association with international organizations at first discouraged and later forbidden. By a strange quirk of circumstance a similar objective was followed by missionaries in the matter of religious contacts. Study abroad and outside contacts that might prove disturbing to the enquiring mind were discouraged. Korea's political and religious mentors - in one case the Japanese, and in the other the missionaries - tended to perpetuate her reputation as a Hermit Nation and a Hermit Church.

Liberation changed all this. It brought the world to her doors in the persons of the Russian and American troops. It brought a ferment of ideas that the church could not ignore. From one source came a questioning of the validity of any religion. From another came an introduction to a great variety of religious experience. It brought the migration of tens of thousands of eager young Christians from the north. It sent many Christian leaders to international gatherings of Christians. It brought back many Christian students from abroad. It brought visits from well known leaders in the ecumenical world. All of which led to a broadening of the Korean church's understanding of the value and validity of the Christian religion for all of life.

The general feeling of the Korean church is well expressed in the words of the closing paragraph of Dr. Kim Kwan Shik's address to the Whitby meeting of the International Missionary Council:

"Let me, in a final word, express my own great pleasure and sense of privilege in thus representing the Korean Church as it renews its affiliation with the I.M.C. For too many years we have been like an orphan church, isolated from the fellowship of the Church Universal. It is a great encouragement to find ourselves included as a member, in our own right, of the world Christian family. I know that the Korean Church desires to strengthen this tie, and hopes to be represented in the future at all such gatherings as this. We shall also expect to be on the programme of any delegation of the I.M.C. which visit the younger churches. We can promise them a warm welcome."

The year 1949 brought visits from a number of well known Christian leaders, such as Bishop Neill, Drs. Decker, Knapp, Sherwood Eddy and Frank C. Laubach. The most outstanding visitors were Dr. John A. MacKay, President of Princeton Seminary, and Dr. Emil Brunner, world-famous Swiss theologian.

Dr. John A. MacKay

Dr. John A. MacKay visited Korea on his way to the Bangkok meeting of the International Missionary Council. His visit was of



particular interest to his own Northern Presbyterian Mission, and to the Korean Presbyterian Church, whose leaders already knew of his eminent standing in theological and ecumenical circles. His addresses on the Mission of the Christian Church, tracing the progress of national churches from small groups of men and women believers through to their growth into self-governing autonomous churches with representation in such ecumenical organizations as The International Missionary Council and The World Council of Churches, were greatly appreciated by all. The enthusiastic reception he received from a great rally of Korean Presbyterian Youth was the highlight of his visit.

My own appreciation of his visit is best expressed in a letter of thanks which I sent him after he left. "I don't think it is too much to say that the year 1949 will mark a milestone in the history of the Korean Church. We had visits from several well known leaders in the ecumenical church, and none did more than you did to bring the Korean Church into the mainstream of world church life and thought. Your wise sponsoring of scholarships within the best evangelical tradition and your loyalty to your own denomination within the church universal, together with your position as head of a great theological school and chairman of your church's Foreign Mission Board, fitted you in a peculiar way to help the Korean Church."

#### Dr. Emil Brunner

The visit of Dr. Emil Brunner was more controversial but no less significant in the history of the Korean Church than that of Dr. MacKay. Dr. Brunner was spending a two year sabbatical leave teaching in Japan. In the fall of 1949 he was invited by the Korean National YMCA to spend ten days in Seoul. He lectured daily on the Bible to an appreciative audience in the YMCA gymnasium. He spoke in four universities and two medical schools on the place of the Christian faith in present day life, and the response was enthusiastic. Seoul National University asked him to give four more lectures, but owing to prior commitments he was unable to comply. He insisted on holding question periods after each lecture and met with gratifying response. All of which, to use his own words: "revealed a deep and vivid interest in the Christian message". His last two public lectures on Christianity and Communism, held in the largest auditorium in the city, were attended by overflow audiences and made a deep impression on all.

In the course of his lectures, and especially in the question periods, Dr. Brunner learned, to quote him again, "that the students at large, particularly those trained in science and medicine, find the fundamentalist theory of verbal inspiration of the Bible and unsurmountable obstacle to becoming Christians. They were most surprised and appreciative when I told them that this theory was neither





biblical nor held by any theological school of Europe or U.S.A. of any standing." He was greatly perturbed by the fact that his presence in Seoul was ignored and his lectures boycotted by ultra-conservative missionary and Korean church groups, but welcomed the assurance that, to a vast number of students searching for truth, Christian and non-Christian alike, his views of the Bible and the Christian religion were like a breath of fresh air in an otherwise stifling atmosphere. In his last address, given before the students and faculty of the Chosun Seminary, he left them with this dynamic slogan: "All of Korea for Christ; all of Christ for Korea."

The theological issue and its effect upon our Canadian missionary group will form the subject of a later chapter.

## Chapter 19

### Liberation of Korea and Return of Missionaries

#### Hymn of the Korean Patriot

Korea, beautiful land of the dawn,  
Hail to Korea, dear land of our own,  
Free from the shame of the yoke and the rod,  
Humbly we thank Thee, omnipotent God.

Paik-Too-San Mountain, on guard evermore,  
Life-giving waters that circle our shore,  
Rivers and valleys, and good mother earth,  
Proudly we call thee the land of our birth.

Land of the mountains, land of the sea,  
Rising in hope of new glory to be,  
Land of our fathers, how dear every sod,  
Korea, beautiful garden of God.

These lines were written on hearing of the capitulation of Japan and the subsequent 'liberation' of Korea. We were not yet in communication with our Korean friends, but we could imagine the jubilation with which they welcomed the ending of Japanese rule, after 35 years of humiliation and suffering. They were now free to give expression to their national pride and deep-seated love of country. We were later to read about it in the restrained words of Dr. Kim Kwan Shik's report to the International Missionary Council, already referred to. "Finally", he wrote, "on August 15, 1945, the bells of liberation rang in our ears and tears of gratitude and hope mingled with our laughter."

We heard more about it on our return to Korea. There was, indeed, laughter and jubilation. Freedom had come at last. Political prisoners were released. Exiles returned from abroad. Korean flags appeared at every door. The Korean language, so long proscribed, was on every



tongue. The Korean national anthem and other patriotic songs were sung. No doubt, in the general celebration, some bitter words were spoken and some violence and looting took place, but Dr. Kim's word was probably true: "So deep and genuine was our joy that it swallowed up all thought of revenge."

### Frustration and Disappointment

With the laughter came also tears - "tears of gratitude and hope", but also tears of frustration and disappointment. Liberation from Japan had come, but independence was still a long way off. As so often in the history of the Korean people, political manoeuvring from without and party dissension from within were to plague their national life. They learned with dismay of the agreement to divide the country at the 38th parallel, the Russians to receive the Japanese surrender north of that line, the Americans to the south of it. Four months later the dismay had turned to consternation and anger as they learned of the Moscow Agreement to place Korea under a trusteeship, up to five years, to prepare her for full independence.

Russia had played her hand well. She waited until August 8 before declaring war on Japan, one week before Japan's capitulation. On August 12 her troops entered Korea and met with little opposition from Japanese troops stationed there. By the end of August she was in complete control of all Korea north of the 38th parallel. The Russian high command had brought with them able Korean leaders, schooled in communist ideology and practice either in Moscow or under Mao Tse Tung, and immediately began organizing the north along communist lines, with these leaders in control.

The Americans, on the other hand, did not land on Korean soil until September 8, three weeks after Japan's capitulation. "Would they ever come?" was the question on every Korean tongue. During the interval, the Japanese Administration, on order from the Allied High Command, continued to govern in the south. When the American army did come they had no plan for the administration of the country, other than that of setting up a U.S. Military Government, making use of Korean officials trained under the Japanese, and carrying on their work through interpreters.

In both zones there were rival political parties angling for power. In the north the Russian Command soon suppressed whatever nationalist parties there were, and forced the two rival communist factions to merge into the North Korea Workers Party to form the one-party system of the Communist state.

In the south, the Americans found a profusion of political parties ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left. They could not use force to compel a merger, though, eventually, they had to suppress the Communist group because of their too close association with the Communist north. Of the three main figures in the south, Kim Koo was assassinated, Kim Kyu Shik explored, unsuccessfully, the possibility of coalition with the leftists, and Syngman Rhee favoured the immediate formation of a strong rightist



democratic government.

### Establishment of Two Governments

In accordance with the Moscow Agreement on Trusteeship the Soviet and U.S. Commands formed a Joint-Commission to seek ways and means of preparing Korea for full independence. This Commission met frequently during 1946-7, but their efforts were constantly nullified by the Russian refusal to recognize any Korean delegate who had opposed trusteeship. Finally, in September, 1947, the United States took the matter to the General Assembly of the United Nations, which appointed a Special Commission to expedite the establishment of a National Government for Korea. The Russian Command refused to recognize this Commission, and denied it entry to the north. On reporting this to the United Nations, the Commission was directed to hold elections, under U.N. supervision, in all Korea if possible, or failing this, in the section of Korea open to such procedure. This led to the election, in May, 1948, of a Constituent Assembly in South Korea, and the eventual establishment of The Republic of Korea, on August 15, 1948, with Syngman Rhee as the first President. This was the only government recognized by the United Nations. Three weeks later, however, on September 10, 1948, under Soviet sponsorship, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established, with Kim Il Sung as President. Thus, Korea was divided into two zones, or nations, and remains so until today.

### Re-Establishment of Missionary Contacts

The first contact with our Korean friends after 'Liberation' came with the visit to Canada and the U.S.A., in the spring of 1946, of Dr. Helen Kim, President of Ewha Women's College. This able and courageous woman had kept the College going during the war under exceptionally difficult circumstances, and had extensive plans for future development. The present buildings were in great need of repair and rehabilitation, and new buildings would be required to meet expanding needs. Dr. Kim hoped for substantial grants in aid from the participating Mission Boards. She also made a strong appeal for our W.M.S. to co-operate in staff personnel, and was encouraged to hope that appointments would be made.

Meanwhile, preparations for the return of missionaries had begun early in 1945. The Foreign Missionary Conference of North America, with which the United Church is affiliated, appointed Post-War Planning Committees for each of the fields that had been evacuated. The following recommendations of the Korea Planning Committee are worth noting. (1) They called on the mission boards to make "a united approach" to Korea; (2) "to co-operate" with 'autonomous Korean churches', and (3) defined the responsibility of the older churches as that of "contributing to the Korean church a few men and women of deep spiritual experience and insight who can assist the



Korean church in maintaining its Christian witness and interpreting the Christian message in relation to the new national, international, social and industrial conditions which will prevail after the war."

They further recommended that a "scouting party" of ten missionaries be sent out as soon as the Japanese are driven from Korea; to be followed by a larger group on receipt of a report on prevailing conditions. The Canadian representative on the 'scouting party' was Dr. E. J. O. Fraser. The name of Dr. Florence J. Murray was also suggested, but had to be withdrawn because of delay in military permission for women to enter Korea. After considerable delay waiting for passports and military permits, the 'scouting party' sailed from San Francisco in May and arrived in Korea toward the end of June, 1946.

The second group, on which Dr. William Scott was our Canadian representative, arrived in Korea on October 31, 1946. In the spring of 1947 the military government set up billets for women and began bringing to Korea typists, secretaries and social workers needed in government offices. This opened the way for the return of former women missionaries. Dr. Florence Murray, Miss Ada Sandell and Rev. Elda Daniels arrived on July 28; Miss Dorothy McBain early in December, and Mrs. E. J. O. Fraser and Mrs. William Scott around Christmas. With the arrival of Miss Beulah Bourns in 1948, and Miss Annetta Rose in 1949 our Canadian staff in Korea, up to the outbreak of the Korean War, was complete - six W.M.S. workers and four O.M.B. missionaries, including wives.

### First Impressions

The second group of returning missionaries disembarked at Yokohama and were located in army billets in Tokyo for two weeks. Frequent visits to Yokohama to look after our baggage gave us our first introduction to the awful destruction of modern warfare. Almost the entire area between Tokyo and Yokohama lay in ruins, with nothing showing but the cement foundations of former Japanese homes.

Our billet in Tokyo was near the Headquarters of the Allied High Command, across from the entrance to the Imperial Palace, and several times we joined the line of spectators who gathered daily to see General MacArthur arrive or leave his office. Through the good offices of Mr. Y. Oda, an old friend who for many years was the English interpreter in the Government-General in Seoul, we went one day to see the War Criminals Tribunal in action in the Japanese Diet Chamber. We could follow, through instantaneous translation, the bitter indictment being made by a Russian prosecuting official.

When travel permits finally arrived, we took the night train going west the entire length of the island of Honshu, crossing under





the strait to the island of Kyushu and on to Hakata where we took ship for Pusan, Korea. Two paragraphs from my letters home may be of interest.

"We left Tokyo at 7:40 p.m. Saturday night, October 26 and found ourselves comfortably accommodated in a corridor car, two people to each compartment, with wash basin, etc. complete. Had a good night's rest and got up bright and early to enjoy the day trip from Osaka to Shimonoseki. Japan is beautiful at this time of year, and since most of the country-side was untouched by bombing it was a delight to travel through it. The persimmons were yellowing on the trees, and the oranges still green. Grain was being harvested - seemingly a bumper crop."

"We were repeatedly reminded of the war as we passed through towns and cities that had been bombed. Factories were levelled to the ground, or stood roofless and windowless, with steel girders twisted by the heat. When we skirted Hiroshima, as the railway now does, we saw a sight that shocked one with the horror of atomic warfare. What a picture of utter desolation! To know that a great city once stood there, and to see nothing now but rubble, with the shell of one tall building remaining, was a sobering experience. Even the trees on the remote outskirts of the city showed signs of the blast, scored and twisted out of shape."

We arrived at Pusan at 7:30 p.m. and were immediately rushed by army bus to the railway station to board the night train for Seoul. Our car had once been a comfortable pullman sleeper but now was in a dilapidated condition, with cracked or broken windows patched up, and upholstery in bad state of repair. We arrived in Seoul next day around noon, and had to stand guard over our baggage an hour until our missionary colleagues, already in Seoul, came to our rescue. We were immediately transported to the Capitol Building for lunch and an introduction to the U.S. Army Command. Then to the Presbyterian compound at Yun Chi Dong where Dr. Fraser had already made arrangements for me to stay.

First impressions of Seoul were not too reassuring. Everything seemed down at the heel. The Japanese had placed the Korean economy on a war footing and had taxed her resources to the limit. Towards the end, production was slowed down because of lack of raw material and breakdown of machinery. Finally, with the removal of Japanese management and technical know-how, factories ground to a halt or to very limited production. Railway rolling stock suffered from lack of upkeep or by loss to the communist north. The streetcar system in Seoul was overtaxed by long queues of prospective passengers. Improvised horse-drawn buses did a profitable business. Such taxi service as existed was limited by the number and condition of the cars available. Confusion was worse confounded by the daily influx of refugees.



Absence of Japanese in Seoul

To one who had known Seoul before the war the deepest impression made on one's mind was the complete absence of Japanese nationals. Seoul had been predominantly a Japanese city, with a large Japanese population of civil servants, military personnel and business men. Now there was none in evidence. Statistics compiled by the U. S. Military Government showed that, after the Japanese surrender, 883,886 Japanese, including 179,273 military, left South Korea for Japan. With them went the Japanese language and the bureaucratic and military overtones that had marked every aspect of their colonial rule.

This was vividly brought home to those of us who attended the graduation ceremony of Ewha Women's College, June, 1947. I was so impressed by it that I went home and wrote the following lines:

EWHA GRADUATION - 1947

I went to Ewha  
in the month of June  
and there  
I saw something new  
in old Korea  
not a June bride  
as you might think  
but a June graduate

In the 'bad old days'  
before yesterday  
graduation month was March  
with winter's breath still lingering  
on naked soil and leafless tree  
and graduates and friends  
all shivering in the cold

But now, in June,  
under a summer sky  
with flowers blooming  
and birds singing  
and new life surging  
all around  
lovely Korean girls  
blossoming into womanhood  
marched proudly  
to their graduation

I saw something new  
in graduation hall  
gone were the formal dress  
the rigid stance  
the regimented look  
the shouted command  
as of a sergeant major  
the wooden-soldiers' everlasting bows  
the heavy pall of ceremonial gloom



And in their stead I saw  
 the unaffected naturalness  
 of Dr. Helen Kim  
 and her associates  
 the simple dignity  
 and natural grace  
 of young Korean womanhood  
 garbed in their graceful flowing gowns  
 Korean fashion all  
 with modesty and confidence  
 accepting their diplomas.

I heard something new  
 that graduation day  
 the Korean tongue  
 from first to last  
 the Korean national anthem  
 sung with restrained heartiness  
 the President's appeal  
 for Christian leadership  
 the graduates' response  
 in thanks and dedication  
 the visitors' congratulations  
 all in their own Korean tongue.

I felt a new spirit  
 abroad that day  
 stirring a new hope for Korea  
 through Ewha  
 Ewha sending forth her daughters  
 cradled in Christian culture  
 well trained, well disciplined  
 going forth to build  
 new homes  
 new realms of thought and deed  
 a new woman's world  
 a new Korea.

And ever since  
 that day in June  
 my heart beats out  
 this daily prayer  
 God bless and prosper  
 EWhA.

#### Re-Union with Korean Friends

The absence of Japanese in the city of Seoul stood in marked contrast with the presence of so many friends from the north. The U.S. Military Government report on Koreans crossing the 38th Parallel



at check points shows that up to April, 1948, no fewer than 829,886 Koreans from the north had entered South Korea. That number would be greatly increased if those who came secretly were added. Among the 'refugees' were many of our Christian friends. We met them constantly on the streets and many of them visited us in our rooms. The warmth and affection with which we greeted each other bore eloquent witness to the reality and worth of the Christian fellowship.

It would be impossible to list the names of all whom we met, but special mention might be made of the following. The day after I arrived I met Rev. Kim Kwan Shik in front of the Capitol Building and was immediately recruited to assist him in preparing his report on Korea, in English, to the International Missionary Council. That same night I had a visit from Mr. and Mrs. Kim Neung Keun, my former secretary and colleague in the Yung Saing High School in Hamheung. They came about 7 o'clock and did not leave until after ten. There was so much to talk about regarding ourselves, our families and conditions in Korea and Canada during the war. The following day, we had a long visit from Mrs. Shin Ai Gyoon Hyun and her son Shi-Hak. Shi-Hak came a few days later to invite Dr. Fraser and me to our first Korean meal since our return. It happened to be November 8 and only when we were seated around the dinner table did we realize that it was my 60th birthday, so that Mrs. Hyun had unknowingly provided me with the traditional 'Whan-Kap' feast - which is always celebrated at the completion of the sixty year zodiac cycle.

Among others whom we met during the first months were Rev. and Mrs. Kim Choong Suk, Mr. and Mrs. Kim Sang'Pil, Mr. and Mrs. Chun Taik Bo, Mr. and Mrs. Hwang Chai Kyung, Rev. Kim Choon Bai, Mr. Kim Won Bai, and Mr. Kim Myun O. Each one added something to our understanding of the experiences they went through before the Japanese surrender and later under the Soviet occupation.

#### Under Communist Rule

It seems that the Communists, at first, gave considerable freedom to worshipping groups, but very soon made it clear that they expected the churches to adopt the Communist line and become agents of Communist propaganda or close their doors. Christians naturally felt drawn towards north Korean Liberal or Social-Democratic parties. The Soviet command at first tolerated these organizations, but later ruthlessly suppressed them.

As Communist governing bodies began to function, Koreans who were in private business or who owned land were dispossessed, and joined the flight to South Korea. At first, this was encouraged by the Communists because it added to the refugee problem in the south. Later the 38th parallel was strictly guarded. We heard many stories





at first-hand like that of Elder Kang of the Yiwon district. He had owned a fishing fleet at Chaho and considerable land in Yiwon county. Dispossessed of all, he decided to leave for Seoul. He wrapped his few remaining possessions in a bundle, with his Bible among them. On arriving at the last bridge check-point the Communist guard opened the bundle and confiscated the Bible. Kang pleaded to be allowed to keep it. It was an old friend, well thumbed and with notes written in the margins. But the guard was adamant. He told Kang to choose between his Bible or crossing to the south. Kang chose his Bible and turned back to the nearest village to spend the night. But during the night, while tossing in bed, unable to sleep, he made another decision. He would cross to the south by the mountain route, and ford the river some miles from the guarded check-point. He joined a small group who were following the same plan. They crossed the river, waist deep, with Elder Kang carrying his precious bundle on his head, with the Bible safely within it.

### Living Conditions

Up to August, 1948, when the Korean government was established, the returning missionaries were under the wing of the U. S. Military Government and received generous treatment. We ate at the army mess, were allowed army postal facilities and given P.X. privileges. When, finally, we were able to set up housekeeping arrangements for ourselves we were, for a time, permitted to purchase supplies from the army Commissariat. General Lerch, the Military Governor, held frequent meetings with the missionary group to brief us on policies and procedures of the Military Government, and to learn from us the opinions and attitudes of our Korean colleagues.

Living conditions were very much in the rough. Seoul was crowded with refugees. It was estimated that over two million Koreans had returned from Japan and China, or fled from communist-held North Korea. Most of them zoned in on Seoul and the fortunate ones, who were first to file a claim with the U.S. Army office that handled Enemy Alien Property, took possession of former Japanese residences or places of business. The only title at first required was that of undisputed possession, but limited to one piece to each applicant. Some refugees registered claims in the names of other members of their family, and a favourite pastime of later refugees was that of checking the lists to discover claims illegally made and obtaining registration in their own names.

Our one Canadian Mission residence in Seoul was occupied by a Korean doctor and his family, so that for the first year our missionaries had to find shelter in homes belonging to sister missions. We immediately registered our claim with the proper authorities and learned that the Military Government had already made plans to use our Canadian residence temporarily for some Japanese technicians they were bringing from Japan to improve and extend the telephone system in Seoul. They promised us possession after their work was completed. By September 1947, we were in possession and making



plans to improve our water and light facilities and generally re-conditioning the house in preparation for the arrival of our wives in December of that year.

One good deed the Japanese Government-General, unintentionally did for us during the war was to sell part of our Canadian Mission lot in Seoul to a Japanese for the erection of a home. He graded the upper section of the lot, protecting it with a very substantial cutstone retaining wall, and built a very attractive Japanese style house. On our return we found this house occupied by an American officer and his wife. On their withdrawal from service in Korea we were able to secure occupation and in 1949 the W.M.S. approved its purchase of the sum of approximately \$3000. Dr. Florence Murray was the first person of our mission to make her home there.

The U.S. Army Medical Services did an excellent job at keeping the country free of epidemics. Strict injunctions were given regarding the use of fruit, vegetables and unboiled water. Vaccinations and inoculations were the order of the day, and the copious use of DDT by hand pump or aerial spray kept the country free of flies and mosquitoes than it had ever been.

At first, transportation was a problem. We trudged on foot, through crowded streets, to our places of work or to the army mess. The U.S. Army finally, through the good offices of the chaplains, offered a limited number of used jeeps for sale, and our Canadian group applied for one. The jeeps were at Ascom City, a U.S. Army Supply Base near Inchun. Sixteen missionaries were taken there by army bus on a bitterly cold day in December, 1946. We were given half an hour to look the jeeps over and, then, at a given signal we all scrambled to get possession of the one we thought best - all thought of the biblical injunction 'in honour preferring one another' for the moment gone with the wind. They cost us \$600 each. Dr. Fraser drove one for our mission, and I drove one for the Northern Presbyterian Mission. It took us some time to get them warmed up, and before we reached Seoul, driving at the speed limit of 20 MPH, we nearly perished with the cold.

The jeeps were hardly blessings in disguise. They all had new engines, but otherwise most of them were forlorn relics. They gave us constant trouble. The failure of some part or other made frequent visits to the Army Service stations necessary. The speed limit in the city was 10 MPH yet one was in constant danger of hitting someone in the crowded streets, or being hit by faster moving army trucks. As one looks back he marvels that he survived the winter cold in an open jeep, the hazards of driving in the crowded city, the bumping of a seemingly springless vehicle over badly pot-holed streets, and the constant danger of losing your jeep to thieves.



The W.M.S. ladies were more fortunate. Their Board had provided them with a new Chevrolet car which they drove from Toronto to San Francisco, transported by ship to Korea and made good use of in their work in Seoul. They needed it badly for their base of operations - Ewha University and East Gate Hospital - were at the extreme east and west of the city and miles distant from their place of residence.

An added hazard that all residents of Seoul-Korean, military or missionary - had to face in the earlier days of liberation was beggar boys by day and burglars by night. Conditions portrayed by Dickens in his day were duplicated in Korea. Street urchins were organized into gangs who preyed on unsuspecting passers-by. And no residence was safe at night without iron bars on doors and windows and copious use of barbed wire on gateways. The city police department did what it could to protect foreign residents, even to the point of providing armed guards. Despite all precautions our houses were broken into several times, and our parked jeeps threatened by thieves.

#### Visiting Deputations

During 1947 Korea was favoured by visits from several deputations. A Joint Deputation from the Korea Committee of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America spent the month of July in Korea and made a thorough study of the difficult situation facing the churches there. It was composed of representatives of the Presbyterian and Methodist boards in the United States. Australian and Canadian boards were also invited to participate and were represented by Rev. H. W. Lane of the Australian Mission and Drs. Fraser and Scott of the Canadian Mission. The fact that the deputation was called a "Joint Deputation" recalls the original hope of the Korea Post War Committee "that the Mission boards make a united approach to Korea". As it turned out, however, the Korean churches had already reverted to their pre-war denominational status, so that the Deputation acted 'jointly' only in regard to union co-operative work, and spent most of the time, separately, in meetings with their own missionaries and with Korean church leaders of their own denomination.

#### Abortive Attempt To Form a Korean United Church

We might here make a brief reference to an effort made by the Korean Christians to form a United Protestant Church. In July 1945, at the insistence of the Japanese Government-General, the Korean Presbyterian and Methodist churches united to form a United Christian Church (Kyodan) of Korea, with Rev. Kim Kwan Shik as Moderator. Within a month came the Japanese surrender and the subsequent rejection by the Koreans of all organizations imposed by the Japanese. Feeling, however, that some form of united Christian front might be



advantageous in dealing with returning patriots who would form a government, a conference of all church leaders in South Korea was held in the fall of 1945, and the United Church was reorganized in accordance with Korean standards, calling itself The United Christian Church of South Korea. This organization never won general approval and by the spring of 1946 another conference was called at which it was decided that the Presbyterian and Methodist churches should revert to their pre-war denominational status. This was followed, in the fall of 1946, with the reorganization of the Korean National Christian Council and the appointment of Rev. Kim Kwan Shik as General Secretary of that body. This action completed the break up of the United Church.

### The Canadian Deputation

In the fall of 1947 we were greatly encouraged by the visit of a deputation from our own United Church of Canada. It consisted of Mrs. Ruth H. Taylor, representing the W.M.S., Rev. D. H. Gallagher, Associate Secretary of the Board of Overseas Missions; Dr. J. Y. Ferguson, an eminent physician, and former missionary, from Toronto, and Mr. John Astbury, LL.D., a leading educationist from Montreal. They had already spent several months studying conditions in our mission fields in India, China and Japan and came to Korea well equipped to observe and advise us in our work here.

Among the recommendations they made to the Board of Overseas Missions were the following:

1. That none of the existing fields of missionary effort be closed.
2. That first priority must be given to strengthening the indigenous church and to encouraging more effective leadership in the church.
3. That while relief work for refugees from our former field in North Korea is our special concern, we ought not to build up in South Korea a mission comparable to our former mission in the north.
4. Our missionaries should continue to serve, as called upon, in co-operative institutions such as The Chosun Theological Seminary, Ewha Women's University, Chosun Christian University, Severance Union Hospital and Medical College, The Korean Christian Literature Society, The Korean Bible Society, and the National Christian Council.
5. That we should recognize the place in our missionary program not only of preachers, teachers, doctors and nurses but also of agriculturists, social workers and those of other vocations.





Chapter 20The Korean War

The Korean War was a tragic event that disrupted life in Korea for three years and took an enormous toll of life and property. It began at 4 a.m. on Sunday morning, June 25, 1950, when the north Korean Armed Forces, without warning, invaded South Korea. They were well trained, well equipped fighting machines, whose objective was to destroy the South Korean Army, overrun the entire south and unite the country under Communist rule before adequate aid could be provided from outside. They almost succeeded. Within three hours the City of Kaesung fell to them (June 25). Within three days the capital of South Korea, Seoul, was occupied (June 28). Within five weeks (August 1), the entire south was overrun, with the exception of the Pusan Perimeter, a small beach-head, running 80 miles north to Taegu, and fifty miles wide to the banks of the Taedong River.

The North Korean Army, from its very beginning, had been built as an offensive force, officered by Koreans who had been trained in Russia or China, and provided by their Communist sponsors, with the latest military equipment. Opposed to them was the R.O.K. Army, still in process of being trained by a small group of U.S. military advisers, 500 strong, whose objective was to train a defensive force, provided only with equipment needed to preserve order within their own national bounds. General Matthew B. Ridgway, who succeeded General MacArthur, summed up the situation as follows:

"Considering the relative strength and combat readiness of the forces that faced each other across the 38th parallel in June, 1950, it was a marvel that the North Korean armies were delayed at all in their drive to overrun all of South Korea. They had armor (tanks, etc.) where the ROKs had none. They had artillery that far outnumbered and outranged what we had provided for the ROK. The North Korean Army (NKA) had air cover, and the ROKs lacked even anti-aircraft batteries. Nor did the ROKs have any gun capable of slowing a tank. It was as if a few troops of Boy Scouts with hand weapons had undertaken to stop a Panzer unit." (The Korean War, p. 17)

Meanwhile action was being taken at the United Nations. President Truman immediately asked for a meeting of the Security Council which, on June 27, condemned the North Korean action as "aggression" and called on the U.N. members to go to the assistance of South Korea. This action "to repel aggression" was the first time the U.N. had ventured to take such a step and was made possible by the fact that Russia was then boycotting the U.N. because of its refusal to grant Communist Peking the Chinese U.N. seat. The Security Council also asked the United States to appoint the Commanding General of U.N. Forces. President Truman appointed General Douglas MacArthur



and ordered him to use all the military forces under his command to oppose the aggressor.

### Course of the War

A brief resume of the course of the war may help refresh memories and provide a background against which we may better understand mission actions. As already noted, the North Korean invasion proceeded with amazing speed until, by August 1, the United Nations (UN) Forces were confined within the Pusan Perimeter. By September the NKA drive was slowing down and the UN troops and supplies were daily increasing. On September 15, General MacArthur undertook a brilliant military gamble in the landing of 70,000 UN troops at Inchun. General Ridgway calls it the 5000-to-1 shot, which succeeded beyond all expectation.

This landing meant that the north Korean forces in the south were caught between two UN armies and soon routed with great loss in dead and captured. On September 28 Seoul was recaptured and handed over personally by General MacArthur to President Syngman Rhee. The next objective was the destruction of all enemy troops in North Korea, to make possible the unification of the country. One UN force in the west drove north towards Pyengyang and the Yalu, and another UN force in the east, arriving at Wonsan by sea and land, drove north through Hamheung towards both the Yalu and the Tumen rivers. Wonsan was taken on October 11, and Pyengyang on October 19. Flushed with success, over confident and over extended, the UN forces in the east and west unexpectedly encountered overwhelming Chinese forces who had secretly entered Korea from across the Manchurian border. The estimated number of Chinese troops varies from 300,000 to 500,000.

Faced with this new Chinese enemy the U.N. troops began a costly retreat which did not end until they reached a line some 70 miles south of Seoul. On the western front, they abandoned Pyengyang on December 5, and Seoul on January 4, 1951. On the eastern front they had to hold a beach-head at Heungnam, near Hamheung, until by December 24, troops, vehicles and stores were evacuated by U.N. ships. Tens of thousands of Korean refugees were also evacuated at this time.

On January 25, 1951, the U.N. forces, now under the command of General Ridgway, began a counter offensive which led to the recapture of Seoul on March 14, and the drive north to more advantageous positions along the 38th parallel. It was evident that the initiative had again passed to the UN command and on June 23 the Soviets, now returned to the United Nations, proposed a cease-fire. On June 10 negotiations began at Kaesung, later transferred to Panmoonjum, and continued until July 27, 1953 when an armistice was finally signed.



### Evacuation of Missionaries

We can now give a more intimate story of how the outbreak of war affected our missionaries. Our Canadian missionaries in Korea at that time were Dr. and Mrs. E. J. O. Fraser, Dr. Florence Murray and Misses Sandell, Bourns and Rose. Miss Elda Daniels was home on leave of absence, and Dr. and Mrs. Scott had left on furlough the month previously.

Dr. Fraser gives a graphic account of what happened: "At one o'clock on Sunday afternoon, June 25, 1950, the Seoul radio announced that raids across the 38 ° had been made at several places on a larger scale than the usual border raids. Through the night reports of deeper infiltration of Communist forces came over the air. At 2 a.m. in the morning (Monday) we were notified to evacuate all women and children, army busses being supplied to take them to the port of Inchun. I immediately got Mrs. Fraser to the bus location. Our Korean chauffeur and I then rounded up the four ladies of our mission and drove them to Inchun in the mission car."

The ship commandeered by the army to evacuate these civilians was a freighter that was unloading fertilizer. It had accommodation for 11 passengers, but 640 women and children were put aboard her, the army having supplied food, blankets and mattresses for them. The ship was given air and navy protection until it arrived safely in Japan. Among the passengers were several expectant mothers, but no babies were born en route, though Dr. Murray and our two nurses were kept busy giving aid, as required, during the 36 hour trip.

The following day, June 27, Dr. Fraser was one of 350 men civilians who were taken to Kimpo airport and given passage on six planes that brought them safely to Japan. All baggage had to be abandoned on the air field. After a brief stay in Japan, Dr. and Mrs. Fraser, Dr. Florence Murray and Miss Ada Sandell returned to Canada. Miss Beulah Bourns and Miss Annette Rose stayed in Japan.

### Terror Under Communist Occupation of Seoul

Seoul was occupied by the communists for three months. Only after the Inchun lading did we learn, from their letters, how our Korean friends had fared during that time. It was a time of terror. It had happened so suddenly that few Korean civilians could leave the city. "It feels quite strange", wrote Dr. Kim Chai Choon, "that I should be alive and able to write a letter to you with my own hand. Devastation wrought by the communists was beyond imagination. Everything was ruined, especially the human resources. Professors, medical doctors, lawyers, prominent business men and Christian ministers were all carried off except those who fled and hid themselves adequately." Dr. Kim and his family survived by secretly



hiding in a quiet village. Dr. Song Chang Kun, President of the Theological Seminary, was not so fortunate. He was taken from his home on August 23, and joined a group of prominent citizen who were marched north as hostages. After one month of constant forced marching, wrote Dr. Kim "starved, hands bound, walking on bare feet, he was completely exhausted, and could go no farther. The guard struck him down and thrust him through with his bayonet. The date was September 24."

A letter from Rev. Shin Sung Kook is dated November 2. "During that time I have been several times near death. From June 28, I hid in the ceiling of a friend's house. At 6:30 a.m. the Communist Army, with tanks ahead, came into Seoul and captured and shot officials and many others in positions of responsibility. On July 18, I went to Samkak Mountain and hid in a deep cave in the rocks for the next forty days. Though I was captured several times and threatened with death I managed to escape. Finally I returned to Seoul and hid under the floor of our own house." He then told how the Communists, on leaving Seoul, took the mission trucks and jeeps and all the furniture but did not set the mission houses on fire, as they did most of the large buildings.

Dr. Helen Kim, President of Ewha Women's University, added her description of life in Seoul after the Inchun landing. "The days are so short. No light, no water, no transportation, no communication, simply 'no nothing' - clothing, houses, food, money. People looked under-nourished and pale, the spirit half gone. They lived in constant terror. Only guns spoke all through the three months of Communist occupation. Lives were taken so easily and casually and so many."

Conditions in Hamheung

The repossession of Seoul by U.N. Forces brought temporary relief, during which time several of our Korean colleagues traveled to Wonsan and Hamheung to investigate conditions there. Among them were Revs. Kang Won Yong, Cho Hyang Nok, Kim Hyung Sook and Kim Hyung Do. We have no record of their trip but have details of conditions in Hamheung as reported by Chaplain Harold Voelkel who accompanied the U.N. Forces who landed at Wonsan and travelled north to Hamheung. We are grateful to him for his report and for the great assistance he rendered Christian friends in Hamheung in their hour of peril.

Several letters were received from Captain Voelkel, written in Hamheung. He had met with pastors Lee Kwun Chan and Suh Keum Chan, and learned from them of conditions under Communist rule. From 1945-48 some 4000 Russians were located in Hamheung. From 1948, when the North Korean Communist Government took over, the number of Russians in Hamheung was reduced to about 100 officers





and their families. Every year, about 200 Korean middle school graduates were sent to Russia for indoctrination and training. Churches were allowed to function but 80% of the congregations were women, and pastors were required to promote Communist ideology and criticize the government of South Korea. Prisons were crowded and it was estimated that over 8,000 prisoners had been liquidated in jail, among whom were many Christians. Mention was made of Rev. Cho Hi Ryum who was shot in jail after four months incarceration, and Miss Kim Kyung Soon, Miss Rose's helper, who had drowned while being tortured during investigation.

Of the missionary residences, only the McRae house remained in tact. The Bunce House and the Ladies' Residence had been burned and only the blackened walls remained. They had both been used by the counter intelligence corps who, before fleeing the city, had sprinkled gasoline over the prisoners and set fire to the buildings.

On Sunday, November 19, the Hamheung Christian community held a welcome service for the U.S. Army Chaplains when Captain Voelkel preached from Isaiah 60: 1, "Arise shine for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee". The rejoicing was profound and sincere, but, unfortunately, premature. By the end of November, the U.N. troops were fighting desperately to break out from encirclement by Chinese forces. By December 11, they had withdrawn from the interior to the bridgehead prepared at Heung-nam. The evacuation that followed was a stupendous and hazardous undertaking. The advanced forces of the Chinese Army were held at bay by constant naval bombardment, but their artillery shells strafed the beaches.

We are particularly interested in the special effort made to rescue the Christian community at Hamheung. Realizing that the warm welcome they had extended to the U.N. troops, even to the point of holding a thanksgiving worship with the army chaplains, would mark them as a priority target for Communist punishment, Chaplain Voelkel, ably assisted by Dr. Hyun Pong Hak, made a heroic effort to get as many as possible to Heungnam for evacuation. The commanding general at Heungnam gave permission for a special train to go to Hamheung to evacuate 3,000 people, 1,000 of whom were to be Christians. Chaplain Voelkel and Dr. Hyun secured an army jeep and travelling by side roads to avoid army trucks and hosts of refugees, made their way to Hamheung and rounded up as many Christians as they could contact, even securing the release of some 30 Christians from prison. It took them all day to do the job and they had to secure special permission to break the strictly enforced 6 p.m. curfew. To quote from Voelkel's letter: "They had to be in Heungnam by midnight. It was bitterly cold, but we got there. The LSTs used to transport the refugees usually carry 500 GI's but five of them carried 39,000 refugees from Heungnam to Pusan."



We learned more about it from our Christian friends who participated. They disembarked from the train at Heungnam and ran to the beach, each carrying a little bundle of possessions. On the beach they huddled together to keep warm and were in mortal danger from bursting shells from Chinese artillery in the hills. Many died on the beach, and many families were separated from one another as each struggled for a place on the crowded LSTs. The whole operation of evacuating nearly 200,000 military and refugee personnel, together with 17,300 vehicles and 91,000 tons of supplies, was an amazing achievement, made possible by the smooth co-operation and efficiency and courage of the combined army, navy and air forces. On behalf of our many Korean friends from the Hamheung district, Christian and non-Christian, who benefitted from this action, we offer a grateful 'well done'.

### Second Evacuation Of Seoul

The second evacuation of Seoul was more grim than the first. The month was January, the bitterest time of the year, and the numbers fleeing the city were vastly greater than before. All available railway rolling stock was pressed into service, and the roads were clogged with army transports, ox-carts and foot travellers. Chaplain Voelkel describes it thus: "Last night I saw groups of refugees riding in open freight cars, heads and all covered with blankets. Imagine the dirt, smoke and soot when passing through tunnels. Those walking down from Seoul have reached Suwon. Two million are expected in Pusan, a city whose waterworks was planned to supply the needs of 200,000 people."

We heard many pitiable stories on our return to Korea. One was about our old friend Kimssi. Her granddaughter had trained as a nurse in the Hamheung hospital and was now on the nursing staff of Severance hospital in Seoul. The grandmother took care of the three children while the granddaughter went to work. They all bundled up in their warmest clothes and joined the ranks of fleeing refugees. They crossed the Han river on the pontoon bridge, and trudged on through Yungdungpo. But the winter cold and the jostling crowds were too much for Kimssi. Her feet swollen and her energy sapped beyond endurance, she slumped by the roadside and plead with her granddaughter to leave her there and go on with the children. They spent the night huddled together to keep warm, crying themselves to an uneasy sleep. In the morning the grandmother was adamant. "I'm over seventy", she told her granddaughter, "I've had a good long life. It doesn't matter what happens to me. But you must go on. You have the children to live for. Hurry, you have no time to lose." Kimssi was so insistent that the granddaughter finally yielded and left her there. Ten months later sobbing bitterly, she told me the story, and I confess I wept too, for old Kimssi was a dear friend of our family and a particular favourite of our sons.



Another such story, though less tragic, related to Pobai of Hamheung. She had a new baby just two months old when the evacuation took place. She found a place on a railway flatcar going south. It was snowing and the wind was blowing cold. "Oh how I wished the baby would die", she told me. "It cried all the time, and I was tempted to get off the train and leave it at the side of the rails." But she could not bring herself to do it. It was a year later that I heard her story, and this is what she said: "Oh, Dr. Scott, you must see my baby. He's the dearest little man that ever was born. I wouldn't give him away for the world."

Stories of the trek southward by road were replete with examples of courage, dogged perseverance and even cheerfulness under the most adverse circumstances. The Christians naturally gravitated together and encouraged each other. It was only two weeks after Christmas and the words and music of Christmas carols still rang in their ears and broke from their lips as they battled with the snow and cold. At night, where possible, they found shelter in homes by the way, but more often they would gather round a makeshift fire and sing themselves asleep. Many a non-Christian who travelled with them arrived in Pusan almost a believer. As Harold E. Fey of the Christian Century wrote on a visit to Korea shortly after: "fortitude, resolution, unquenchable hope - these elements stand out in magnificent clarity in the Korean spirit today, and they come from the Christian faith."

Since the congestion of refugees in Pusan constituted a threat to the smooth operation of that port through which men and supplies were reaching the UN front, General Ridgway ordered the dispersal of refugees to islands off the south coast of Korea. Some tens of thousands of them were transferred to Koje Island, most of whom were from N.E. Korea, the area where the Canadian Mission formerly worked. They were known to us and looked to us for help, so that for several years one of our main concerns was relief work among refugees on Koje Island.

### Second Return of Missionaries

Until the opening of cease-fire negotiations on July 10, 1951, missionaries were not allowed to return to Korea. From that time on, permits were limited to male missionaries and medical personnel. Miss Beulah Bourns, who had returned for a brief period after the Inchun Landing, was again the first of our mission to return. She arrived in Pusan in July and immediately visited Koje Island, and received a warm welcome from the thousands of Christian refugees there from our section of North Korea. In September Drs. Fraser and Scott arrived and immediately made contact with the Koje refugee groups, as did Dr. Murray and Miss Sandell when they arrived from Canada on October 22. These visits brought great comfort and renewed hope to many Korean friends whom we had not seen for years.



Visitors

Of the 53 nations that endorsed the UN decision to take action to repel aggression in Korea, only 16 provided combat units, while another five provided medical service. Canada sent an infantry brigade, including artillery and armoured elements. It also sent a few naval vessels. In October, 1951, the Canadian Council of Churches sent a ministerial delegation to visit them, consisting of the moderators of the three churches, Archbishop Barfoot for the Anglicans, Dr. Nicholson for the United Church, and Dr. Kennedy for the Presbyterian Church. A special military parade and worship was held at the UN cemetery in Pusan, on October 31, at which the members of our mission were privileged to attend. During the war the Canadian force sustained 1557 casualties, of whom 312 were fatal. The troops were rotated after a certain period of service and the total number of Canadians who saw service in Korea was 22,066.

In January, 1952, Dr. A. E. Armstrong, who, with Mrs. Armstrong, was visiting their son who was commercial attache of the Canadian government in Hong Kong, spent two weeks in Korea. As a former Secretary of the O.M.B. of the church, Dr. and Mrs. Armstrong had endeared themselves to the Korea missionaries and to the Korean church leaders. Mrs. Armstrong was unable to accompany her husband on this trip to war-torn Korea, but we were greatly delighted to have Dr. Armstrong in our midst. He visited extensively and showed an interest in every phase of our work. He spent several days on Koje, visiting refugee villages and worshipping in tent churches, seeing refugee schools in action and sharing a meal here and there with a refugee family in their make-shift home. In Pusan he met with President Rhee and was thanked for the part he played in carrying the first report of the Independence Movement to America and Canada, in 1919.

One incident that stands out in my memory was our visit to Ewha. Mrs. Armstrong had been instrumental in persuading the W.M.S. to co-operate in Ewha College, so Dr. Armstrong was eager to visit Ewha in Exile. Dr. Helen Kim, with her usual energy and drive had built classrooms on the hillsides in Pusan, wooden frame buildings with tent roofs, and no heat. Benches, if they existed, were built by driving stakes into the ground and nailing a board on top of them. In many cases the students sat on straw mats on the bare earth. It was winter holiday time, but Dr. Kim, herself showed us over the "University". Hill after hill we climbed to this and that "classroom". One of the last places we visited was a small tent which housed a solitary practice piano. It had been salvaged from the university in Seoul and brought to Pusan by U.S. army truck, and donated to the University in Exile. It was in a dilapidated condition. The top and the lower panel were gone. One broken leg was held together by a wooden splice, and the veneer was peeling off





most of the remainder. Dr. Kim told us apologetically that it was used as a practice piano, and added words that have remained in my memory ever since: "It's badly battered, isn't it, but they tell me it still carries the tune." Could any word better describe the Korean people at that juncture? "Badly battered but still carrying the tune."

Another visitor we were glad to welcome was Mrs. Hugh Taylor, representing our church's Committee on Overseas Relief. She came to survey the work being done, the methods being followed and the needs still to be met. We shall refer to this in more detail in the next chapter. We only note here that she spent a busy time in Korea, in the summer of 1953, visiting government, military and mission agencies in Pusan and Seoul, and even undertook the hazardous trip to Koje Island. Her winsome personality, together with her personal experience of missionary life and work in China, and her intimate knowledge, as W.M.S. Secretary, of the various lines of work being done, and her deep concern for our Korean refugee friends, made her visit particularly meaningful and helpful.

During our mission stay in Pusan - 1951-53 - as a mission in exile, we were in debt to the Australian missionaries who so kindly shared their homes with us, much to their own inconvenience. By the fall of 1952 we secured a Canadian Mission House of our own which relieved the pressure on accommodation, but we would record our deep appreciation of the kindly courtesy and warm fellowship which we enjoyed with our Australian friends.

A more detailed account of our mission activities during the period under review will be given in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that our work centered chiefly in Pusan and Koje Island. Dr. Murray served with Severance Hospital in exile in Pusan, and also gave invaluable assistance to the Danish Hospital Ship, *Judlandia*, for which she was honoured by a medal from the Danish Government. Miss Sandell braved the loneliness and the hazards of Koje Island to head up the nursing department of the Koje branch of Severance in exile. Miss Bourns, in addition to nursing duties on the island also cared for an orphan home there. Her motherly concern for orphan children is well illustrated by the following incident. When about to leave Koje to accompany Dr. Murray to Seoul she brought a box of Kleenex to Miss Sandell (precious in those days) and said: "Here, Ada, take this. Visit my babies sometimes and wipe their noses."

Dr. Fraser was kept busy in Pusan with Christian Literature work, caring for refugees and refugee churches, and representing the mission on various boards. Dr. Scott spent most of his time on Koje Island, visiting the many refugee groups there with audio-visual equipment, and supervising the building of a temporary hospital and dispensary.



By the fall of 1952, with peace negotiations underway, but promising long delay in reaching agreement, President Syngman Rhee ignored and defied the UN High Command ban on the return of civilians to Seoul, and moved his government there. At this same time Dr. Murray and Miss Bourns were allowed to return to the capital to open emergency medical work in Severance for the Korean Labour Corps. In the summer of 1953 President Rhee ordered all schools in exile to return to Seoul. Civilians followed in great numbers so that by the end of the year Seoul was again a crowded city and the work of rehabilitation had begun.

## Chapter 21

### Relief and Rehabilitation

For several years after the return of the missionaries in 1946 their work was largely concerned with relief and rehabilitation of refugees. The unnatural division of the country into two zones had resulted in the migration of hundreds of thousands from the Communist held north to the freer atmosphere of the south. This was followed, within five years, by the communist invasion which left millions homeless and destitute. Seoul changed hands four times and was plundered once by North Korean forces and once by the Chinese. When finally retaken and held by the United Nations Command, for two years it was declared off-limits to all but military personnel.

During that interval the port city of Pusan became the seat of the Korean Government and the mecca of hundreds of thousands of refugees. The mountains crowded the city along the sea front, but soon every hill was terraced and row upon row of refugee huts appeared, reached by paths no wider than room for two people to pass. The refugees were in constant danger from fire and flood. One fire swept the hillside, caused by the overturning of a charcoal brazier during a domestic quarrel, leaving some 30,000 people homeless. Our own Canadian Mission house lay in the path of the fire and was saved only by a change in the wind which drove the fire down a valley a hundred feet between us and the devastated hillside.

Exact statistics relating to the refugees are hard to come by and range from extremely high to extremely low. The following figures issued by The United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) in 1953 are probably on the low side, but tragic enough:

|                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Refugees        | 2,800,000        |
| War Sufferers   | 1,800,000        |
| Local Destitute | <u>4,900,000</u> |
| Total           | 9,500,000        |

or one-third of the population of South Korea. Statistics issued by the Korean National Christian Council that same year claim that



in South Korea 207 churches were destroyed and 706 more damaged. 500 pastors and other church officials were killed or taken north by the communists. It was estimated that there were 300,000 widows with 516,000 dependent children. The figure of 46,000 orphans was being added to every month.

### Response Of the Churches

The response of the home churches to the refugee situation in Korea was immediate and generous. The United Church of Canada had several small relief funds on their books, such as the Fund for Relief of European Protestant Churches. The W.M.S. was also active in sending parcels to Britain and making contributions through the Save The Children Fund. The emergency in Korea led to a move to co-ordinate and unify these efforts. In October, 1947, by a decision of the Sub-Executive of the General Council, a Committee on Overseas Relief was organized, with Dr. James Mutchmor as first chairman. This committee did excellent work during the Korean emergency and has continued to function as the United Church agency for relief in a score of countries, drawing considerable grants from the Mission and Service Fund of the church. Part of its work is done directly, and part in co-operation with the Canadian Council of Churches.

One of the first acts of the Committee on Overseas Relief was to establish in October 1947, a Clothing Depot in Toronto, to facilitate the collecting, baling and shipping of used clothing for relief. In 1953, a similar Depot was opened in Vancouver to handle contributions from Western congregations. Meanwhile, American churches had already united to form an agency for relief called Church World Service (C.W.S.) with headquarters in New York, which acted as a clearing house for shipments of relief goods for most churches in America and Canada.

For several years, shipments by C.W.S. to Korea were handled solely by a military agency called Korea Civil Assistance Command (KCAC), and were carried, free of charge, on military transports. On arrival in Korea, they were distributed by KCAC, in co-operation with the Korean Government's Ministry of Social Affairs. As time went on, however, it was felt that the spiritual side of the process of relief and reconstruction should not be neglected, that churches and missions should have some share in the distribution. It was pointed out that the churches' contribution is not in goods only, but in concerned individual contact, demonstrating through human personality in action that people really care. This led to the organization of a Korean Church World Service Committee and to an arrangement by which voluntary agencies, such as churches and missions, would receive and distribute supplies on their own.

### The Visit of Mrs. Hugh Taylor

The visit to Korea of Mrs. Hugh Taylor, in 1953, representing the Mission Boards and the Committee on Overseas Relief, helped



greatly to clarify the picture of urgent need and ways of meeting it. She met with officials of KCAC, UNKRA, and the Korean Ministry of Social Affairs, and saw the work done by them. She also met with representatives of Voluntary Agencies, and learned about their difficulties. On the basis of her investigation, on her return to Canada, she made three main recommendations:

- 1) That hereafter shipments of relief bales from Canadian churches be made through Church World Service, and not through KCAC, as formerly.
- 2) That our missionaries be given more substantial relief and rehabilitation funds to enable them to meet the emergency.
- 3) That priority be given to rehabilitation rather than to simple relief.

In accordance with these recommendations greater quantities of relief goods and larger budgets were placed at our disposal, so that we were able to extend work we were already engaged in and branch out into more effective rehabilitation projects. It should be noted that in all our work we sought the co-operation of the Korean Church through joint administrative boards and relief committees. The general survey that follows will give some idea of the extent and variety of work undertaken.

### Urgent Relief

Though priority was given to rehabilitation projects, it was never possible to get away from cases where urgent, individual relief seemed necessary. Most of the distribution of clothing was done by Korea Church World Service. They received their stocks from clothing depots in America and Canada. We, in turn, received supplies from them, which, together with the hundreds of relief parcels sent by W.M.S. groups in Canada, enabled us to keep a stock at our headquarters in Seoul to meet emergency calls. Overcoats, suits, dresses, underwear, socks, stockings, gloves, children's clothes, baby outfits, etc. - all were called for to meet the needs of distressed families, or needy students, or discharged patients from hospitals. Missionaries visiting country churches always carried a load of relief parcels in their jeeps and never failed to find needy and grateful recipients.

It was good, too, to have a petty cash account from which to draw small sums to help some refugee widow pay her room rent, or some struggling pastor to eke out his daily ration or purchase some newly published book to keep his mind alert. Take Rev. Kim Hyung Do, for example. A long time friend of the mission he was now in the Korean Army Chaplaincy, whose family expenses always exceeded his salary so that he seriously considered leaving the chaplaincy to take up other work that would bring a larger income. He finally decided against it on the word of one of his sons: "Don't give it





up, Dad, we'll just tighten our belts and make believe we're not hungry."

### Rehabilitation Efforts

Our primary aim, however, was rehabilitation, and yearly reports give many interesting examples of projects attempted. Take the story of the middle aged woman who kept repeatedly returning for a hand out until she was on the way to becoming a beggar. One day we asked her how much it would require for her to set up a stall to trade, and so make enough to feed herself and family. The sum of \$35. was mentioned and provided and the results were gratifying. The woman gained self respect, and made a living as far as providing food for herself and her family. And she no longer came begging at the missionary's door. This was quite typical of many who were helped in this way.

Or to cite a more ambitious project let us take the case of Mrs. Kim Kyung Min. A graduate of our Hamheung Girls' High School she had lost her husband during the Korean war. She was deeply distressed over the plight of widows like herself in the city of Pusan. She conceived the idea of setting up a self-help sewing group. With mission help she secured sewing machines and rented a small shop, with a room on the second floor. With Korean manufactured cotton cloth, purchased at wholesale price, or material salvaged from relief goods that were unsuitable for Korean wear, some 20-25 widows produced attractive, Korean style children's clothes. The upper room was a hive of industry, and Mrs. Kim was kept busy in the shop below, selling at reasonable prices, which helped both the working widows and the purchasing public.

### The Good Neighbour Village

One self help project of which we were very proud was that undertaken by Rev. Choi Moon Whan. He secured a piece of county land on the banks of the Naktong River, and gathering ten refugee families around him, he planned to build a model village. So successful was this first venture that it excited the envy of a group of disabled veterans who gradually encroached on Mr. Choi's project. The county officials were finally persuaded to favour the veterans who took over the land and all the improvements made by Mr. Choi's group.

Undaunted by this first harsh rebuff Mr. Choi moved his group to a piece of land some miles from Seoul and set up what he called "The Good Neighbour Village", which persists to this day. The project received generous assistance from Carlton Street United Church, Toronto. The community is built around the church, which was the first building project undertaken, and which does service, not only for worship, but for a kindergarten and rural institute building. Each family owns a piece of the community land, and joins



in the communal care of the livestock - chickens, rabbits, goats, pigs, cows, bees. The head of each family also works in the neighbourhood as carpenter, farm hand, or casual laborer. There is a community well and bath house. Roads are laid out in convenient and orderly fashion, and improved homes are being built as need requires. Emphasis is laid on keeping the village attractive, with flower gardens adding a profusion of colour. Not only are the families good neighbours to each other, but the village is proving to be a good neighbour to adjacent villages whose non-Christian headmen often bring some of their people to visit the model village.

Mr. Choi's village is only one of many such projects set up by Christian refugees in villages in South Korea. I tell the life-long friend of the Canadian Mission and now Professor of Oriental Culture at Carlton University, Ottawa, Elder Kim Yong Ki was concerned over the concentration of so many refugees in the cities and disturbed over what city life was doing to them. He left Seoul and, with several like-minded friends settled in a country village. They had built a Christian church there, and Elder Kim came to Dr. Chung, then a professor in the Theological Seminary to plead that he come and be their spiritual leader. He made several visits and on this particular occasion produced a small can of peach jam and placed it ceremoniously before Dr. Chung and said: "I've brought this can of peach jam, not as a bait to lure you from the city to join us, but as a gift to your little daughter. It will do her little good, other than to let her taste something sweet. The food value is practically nil. And if you could read the story of this can by the finger prints it bears you would realize that it can do our country no good. I got it on the black market as I came here. It bears the finger prints of the black market profiteer. Beneath them are the finger prints of someone who stole it from the army stores. Beneath these, again, are the finger prints of an American G.I. and an American factory hand. And the contents, as I say, have little or no food value. But in the fall, I'll bring you and your little girl a better gift. I've planted sweet potatoes, No hand will ever touch them but my hand and the hand of God, and they'll be good for food. And they will taste all the better because they will be the product of Korean soil, of Korean sweat and labour." With that, he made another ceremonial bow, rose from the floor and departed, leaving David to ponder the incident.

Dr. Chung could not leave his post on the Seminary staff but he could tell this story to his students in the hope that some of them would be influenced to "go and do likewise". Many of them did. One able young graduate deferred seeking ordination because he felt a call to do something for homeless boys roaming the streets of Pusan, living by their wits and learning criminal ways. With mission assistance he gathered a number of these boys into a 'Home' and tried to help them live lives of honesty and usefulness. Many such Boys' Homes sprang up. One became well known because of the caption



it displayed over the entrance. It read: "Don't ask about our past; we live for the future."

We were always ready to encourage any evidence of effort towards self help on the part of the refugees. The Chiseipo settlement on Koje Island specialized in the raising of chickens which added to the community income and gave employment and experience to several individuals. Many men utilized the long winter hours by making straw-rope for sale. We came across two men who collected and prepared hog hairs for sale to brush factories. One orphanage we assisted went by the name of The Nazareth Orphanage because, with the help of a Christian tradesman, they trained older boys to become carpenters. One more ambitious project was the Weaving School, opened in Pusan by the Korean Church World Service Committee. Our W.M.S. donated the services of Miss Violet Stewart whose experience along this line in China was a great help to some 20 - 30 Korean women. She introduced pattern weaving on a loom that could easily be constructed locally, and gave instruction in the use of fast dyes. These and other projects not only kept the refugee men and women busy, but gave them immediate self-relief, and an experience that would stand them in good stead in their future lives.

Not every venture undertaken was a success. One might mention the Bean Oil Factory project. With funds provided by the Food For the World's Hungry campaign in Canada, we stood behind a group of former business men and women from the north who got possession of a building that housed a bean oil extracting plant on the ground floor and a make shift book-binding project upstairs. The bean-oil plant employed about ten men, and the book-binding operation about 20 women, sewing the pages together by hand. Both of them thrived for over a year, the profits from the bean-oil business subsidizing the book-binding project. Then, the Korean Government relief agencies received a very large shipment of Cotton-Seed-Oil which they proceeded to dump on the market at prices far below the cost of producing bean-oil. This gradually forced the bean-oil project out of business, together with its subsidiary book-binding venture.

Despite certain disappointments there is no question that the work of the missions in bringing relief to tens of thousands of refugees not only met a great human need, but also helped them to understand that people in other countries really cared. It also brought a new appreciation of the Christian religion. As a non-Christian official is quoted as saying: "Until we received this help, Christianity, to these people, meant little more than a church with the symbol of the cross over its door. Now, however, it has come to mean something we can understand - it means love, concern, life, a ray of hope for the future. This is a Christianity we can understand."



Aid To Churches

As already stated, during the Communist invasion church buildings and church workers were prime objects of reprisal, so that one of the first calls on relief funds was aid to Christian workers and assistance in securing or repairing places of worship. Refugee congregations usually worshipped in tents supplied by the U.S. Army, or in vacant factory or other buildings. Tents needed siding and some kind of flooring to make them usable in winter. Many established churches were left without doors or windows. Requests for some kind of help were constantly being made, and we were able to do no more than give token assistance.

One line of work we were glad to encourage was the opening of day nurseries in churches to care for the children of refugee mothers who worked in the daytime. Several refugee churches in Seoul and Pusan did excellent work along this line.

We also did our share in assistance given to the Chaplaincy work in the Korean armed forces, and in the prisons. This work was undertaken by the Korean National Christian Council with the approval, and at the urging, of President Syngman Rhee.

We encouraged church workers to report on specially needy cases in their congregations and, through their co-operation, appropriate relief was forthcoming.

Aid To Refugee Schools

One gratifying aspect of work among the refugees was their eagerness to provide schooling for their children. The tent that did service for worship on Sunday was transformed into a school on week days. Teachers were recruited from among the young men and women of their group. Blackboards and chalk were borrowed from local schools. Pupils sat on the bare ground, or on pebbles gathered from the sea shore, or on mats scrounged from the neighbourhood. Only the teachers had textbooks and the pupils made shift with stubs of pencils and scraps of paper.

There were about 12 schools for refugee children on Koje Island, seven of which carried high school work. The high school work created a difficulty. Text books were required and qualified teachers were hard to find. The mission was able to make grants in aid to the high schools on the understanding that the groups would carry their primary schools. The enrollment, at their height, was 1412 students, 364 of whom were girls.

In addition to the schools on Koje Island, the mission was concerned with the refugee school in Yungdungpo, across the Han River from Seoul. During the two years that Seoul was off limits to all but





military personnel, Yungdungpo became the most crowded and most wretched city in Korea, with all sorts of people waiting for the signal to re-enter the capital city. Hundreds of refugee children roamed the streets, unable to find schools to attend, and learning, instead, thievery and worse. Fortunately, the pastor of a refugee church there, Rev. Kim Ee Hon, was an able and energetic man who felt that something had to be done. He got permission to use an empty factory building, without doors, windows, partitions, or flooring and decided to open a day school which he called simply: "School for Refugee Children". He won the co-operation of four young people in his church, two men and two women who offered to teach for their keep. He approached the mission for aid, and we were glad to help in putting the building in shape for use. We also helped to raise the teachers's salaries a little above the \$10 per month they were receiving. Mr. Kim, as principal, refused to accept anything other than his salary as pastor of the refugee church. No other piece of relief work gave us more satisfaction than this "School for Refugee Children". It was a marked success and called forth words of commendation from the local police and municipal authorities.

Our educational program also included two hostels in Seoul one for men and one for women, where 20 men and 20 women students were comfortably housed. For those who could not find a place in the hostels we started a system of monthly grants in aid of living expenses. Fifteen men and fifteen women students received these grants. They were carefully screened by a committee of Korean men and women, and high scholarship and good Christian character were required, together with the promise of producing good future leadership.

Mention should also be made of the more extensive contributions made by our mission boards towards the rehabilitation work required in the case of the dormitories at Ewha Woman's University and the Chosun (later named Hankook) Theological Seminary.

#### Mrs. Shin Ai Gyoon Hyun

The story on relief work on Koje Island would not be complete without special reference to the work done there by Mrs. Shin Ai Gyoon Hyun. Herself a graduate of our Hamheung Girls' Academy, in North Korea, she was deeply concerned over the plight of teenage girls who had been separated from their parents in the evacuation from Heungnam. She gathered some 30 such girls together and established a retreat for them on Koje Island. Her first choice was a spot near the seashore. She explained her project to a sympathetic officer of the U.S. Army and secured two large tents and the promise of rations for her 'family'. With the help of friends among the refugees and neighbouring islanders the tents were transformed into a hostel, fit for occupation by the girls. Teachers were recruited from the neighbourhood and high school work was undertaken, so that within two years these girls were able to fend for themselves.



As the winter set in she secured permission to move the tents to the woodlot of a friendly Korean farmer, more sheltered and warmer than the seashore. It was always a pleasure to visit the Il Maik Won, the Corn Of Wheat hostel, for Mrs. Hyun's love of flowers had made the farmer's woodlot a riot of colour. Those fortunate girls who spent two years under her tutelage must have carried that love of flowers to the homes they were later destined to build.

### Tribute to Mrs. Hyun

Mrs. Hyun was the most outstanding Korean woman known to Canadian missionaries. Left a young widow with six children when her husband, Director of Religious Education in the Hamheung Yungsaing Girls' Academy, died, she lost one of them but brought the others up to fill worthy posts in public and private life. Her oldest son is a professor in Ewha Woman's University; the second son is a well known medical doctor; her third son is at present Korean Ambassador to Morocco, and the fourth son is in business and journalism. Her only daughter is the wife of a Korean pastor.

Mrs. Hyun is widely known in church circles in Korea. She spent several terms as president of the National W.M.S. of her denomination, has been active in YMCA and WCTU work, and was one of the founders of a home for retired women church workers and of the Hamyoung High School in Seoul, which seeks to perpetuate the Hamheung Yungsaing School from which she graduated. She will long be remembered for her championing of woman's place in the church and her insistence on a good education and a well balanced Christian experience. Throughout her life she has been a wise counsellor and true friend of the Canadian mission. It was fitting that she should be the only Korean woman to visit our Dominion Board meeting, at the invitation of the W.M.S. some years ago. She well exemplified a principle she always stood for, namely "the right person in the right place." Nothing gives the writer greater pleasure than to know her, and be known of her, as a friend.

### Medical Relief Work

With the evacuation of Seoul during the Korean War Severance Hospital was asked by the Korean Government to open branch hospitals in Pusan and Koje Island, to care largely for the refugee population. As has already been noted, Dr. Murray was associated with the branch in Pusan and Misses Sandell and Bourns with the branch on Koje. When the Korean Government returned to Seoul in 1952, Dr. Murray and Miss Bourns returned to Severance and helped restore sufficient of the destroyed hospital building to care for patients from the Korean Labour Corps on the front line.

At the same time, the Koje branch had to vacate the public school they had occupied during the emergency. With doctors and



nurses gone and the hospital building now being restored to its original use as a public school, the local authorities appealed to the Canadian missionaries to continue hospital work for refugees and the general public on the island. They offered us the temporary occupation of an unused fish oil storage barn and an adjoining building which we transformed into a dispensary and hospital respectively, retaining the name of Severance on Koje. The expense of reconstruction was met from our Relief funds, from a generous gift from Dr. and Mrs. Robert Grierson, and from supplies of lumber donated by the U.S. Army Civil Assistance Command. Miss Sandell remained on the island to supervise the medical work done, and Dr. Scott spent six months there supervising the reconstruction. Later on the removal of Miss Sandell to Severance in Seoul, Dr. Ian Robb represented the Canadian Mission on Koje, until with the return of normalcy and the departure of refugees, the work lapsed for several years. The writer understands however, that recently it has been re-opened again under the name of Severance.

### Tuberculosis Control Project

One of the most outstanding medical rehabilitation projects undertaken in Korea was the Tuberculosis Control Project undertaken by the Korea Church World Service Committee and headed by Dr. Ernest B. Struthers of the United Church of Canada. Dr. Struthers explains the medical situation in Korea thus:

"Pulmonary tuberculosis is without question the most important medical disease problem in Korea. About 800,000 persons in South Korea have active tuberculosis - an incidence of 3.4% of the entire population. Active tuberculosis is 50 times as prevalent in Korea as it is in the U.S.A. or in Canada, and yet only 4000 hospital beds are available to treat it. (written in 1963). Almost 90% of the people have become infected to some degree by the time they reach 25 years of age. Over-crowding and malnutrition, by-products of a major war and of very low living standards, have expanded the tuberculosis problem to its present huge proportions."

With long years of service as a medical missionary in the Honan, China, mission of our church, and with three years of experience as Medical Specialist to the Ontario Department of Health, Division of Preventive Medicine, Dr. Struthers was asked to head up this project. In January, 1954, he opened the first clinic at Severance Hospital, Seoul, and proceeded to demonstrate that tuberculosis can be effectively treated even on an out-patient basis, and at very little cost. Within a few years clinics were opened at five more hospitals in Seoul city, and at 10 hospitals in the provinces. During the year 1960 these 16 clinics treated a total of 10,066 patients. Of these patients 88% of those with early disease and 60% of those with advanced disease, became non-infectious in six months.



To treat these 10,066 patients, in addition to drugs and X-Ray film supplied by the Korean Government Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, the Korean Church World Service Committee dispensed 12,810 vials of Streptomycin, 832,900 tablets of Isoniazid, 3,170,000 tablets of PAS, and about 620,000 multi-vitamin tablets.

A distinctive feature of the T.B. Control Project from the beginning has been systematic visiting by trained nurses and social workers. In 1960, nurses from the 16 clinics in Korea made 10,925 visits, and the practical instruction these dedicated Christian nurses gave helped greatly in the results achieved. Because of the marked success of this project the Korean Government has largely patterned its T.B. control program on that of the KCWS clinics.

Dr. Struthers could tell many stories of patients helped. One must suffice. A Mr. Yun had been a teacher and government official until four years ago he was found to have advanced T.B. of the lungs. He lost his position and was found by one of the clinic's workers living in a box-like shelter near one of the busiest streets in Seoul. Conditions were so bad that the worker wrote in her report: "Not even a dog should be asked to live in such inadequate conditions." The family consisted of wife, three sons and two daughters. The wife and one daughter found employment as maids in well-to-do Korean homes. Two of the boys had paper routes. With mission help the family moved into a rented room and the wife was enabled to set up business on a small scale. After six month treatment the husband had improved so much that he was non-infectious.

Tuberculosis will remain for many years Korea's most serious medical problem, but the T.B. Control Project has demonstrated what can be done by a dedicated staff. It has been, and continues to be, one of the most encouraging pieces of rehabilitation work done in Korea.

In addition to the projects mentioned above our mission co-operated in the rural and social centre established at Taejon, and in the Amputee Project associated with it. Artificial limbs were supplied to many civilian casualties of the Korean War. Reference should be made also to the devoted work done by the Alumni of the Martha Wilson Bible School. They went two by two to Korean army hospitals and brought comfort and help to wounded Korean lads, repairing their clothes, darning their socks, writing letters to their homes and bringing them a message of cheer from the Christian gospel. Miss L. H. McCully who founded the school, Mrs. Robb, Mrs. Barker, and other Canadian missionaries who taught in it, would have been proud of the work they did. It merited the public appreciation it received.

#### Audio-Visual Work

Another project that might be considered rehabilitation work was the audio-visual work made possible by our Boards who provided





us with the necessary equipment. By generous gifts, especially from the W.M.S., we were able to purchase a bell & Howell projector and a Homelite generator and with films purchased or borrowed from Canada or from U.S. Army supply depots in Korea, were able to carry to scores of refugee villages entertainment, education, and an evangelistic appeal that was greatly appreciated. Our report for 1952-3 gives some idea of the work done.

"Audio-visual aids have proved a splendid medium for contacting thousands of lonely, dispirited people in refugee villages and in army camps. A total of 116 meetings were held this year, with an estimated attendance of 111,900 people. Three districts were served: Koje Island, Pusan and Seoul. On Koje, 52 showings were given in refugee settlements, with 49,140 people participating. In the Pusan district our work was chiefly among Korean army units, including hospitals for wounded and disabled veterans. Sixty-five showings were attended by 61,130. One visit was made to Seoul and the front line area where 11,750 viewed our showings. The final showing of the year on New Year's eve, was given to a group of 700 inmates of a Leper Hospital near Pusan. The program was a varied one, consisting of musical, scenic and sports films (including the graceful skating of Barbara Ann Scott), followed by a religious film ably interpreted by our Korean colleague, Rev. Lee Kwun Chan. Between the reels, still pictures of the Life of Christ were shown, during which occasion was offered of bringing greetings from the world church and making a brief evangelistic appeal."

Throughout this chapter we have concentrated on special lines of work carried on by our own and other missions - all of them related to relief and rehabilitation. During this period, the work of the church and its affiliated institutions went on without interruption. Refugees were scattered throughout South Korea and the islands off the south coast. Wherever they went some sort of meeting place would appear, marked by a cross at the entrance. They were so numerous that even non-Christians were impressed and voiced their astonishment in a rhymed couplet that might be translated as "Churches, churches, here, there; Christians, Christians, everywhere." South Korea which, in former days, had made less response to the gospel than the North, received, as it were, a blood transfusion, and the Christian population grew rapidly. While resident in Pusan, our relationship with the Korean church was through the Hamkyung and Kando Presbyteries in exile. When we returned to Seoul in 1953 we came under the jurisdiction of the Kyungki (Seoul) Presbytery, which assigned us the Suwon county as our special sphere of work. We were also asked to consider Kangwon Province as our main field of effort, but because of the theological controversy in the church this never really developed. Later, however, we co-operated with the Methodist mission in building a Union Hospital in Wonju, in the planning and building of which Dr. Florence Murray rendered notable service.



Miss Anne Davison

No record of the Canadian Mission's contribution to relief and rehabilitation in Korea would be complete without special reference to the contribution made by Miss Anne Davison. Mrs. Hugh Taylor's visit to Korea, in 1953, left her deeply concerned over the extent and urgency of the relief work needed to be done, especially as it related to women and children. Dr. Henry Appenzeller had just been appointed superintendent of Korea Church World Service, and had opened the Misil Widow's Home and Knitting School in Seoul, and a Weaving School in Pusan. This was a good beginning, but Mrs. Taylor felt that it needed some woman with experience, understanding and dynamic personality to direct and extend the work begun. She found such a person in Miss Anne Davison, who had just returned from a three year period of service in China, and had completed her master's degree in Social Science at Toronto University. Miss Davison agreed and Mrs. Taylor offered her services to Church World Service for a period of three years, which was eventually extended to almost ten years.

Miss Davison arrived in Korea in the fall of 1953 and immediately threw herself into the work with enthusiasm and abounding energy. As the only missionary woman on KCWS staff she was given, as her responsibility "the women and children of Korea". She trudged the hills of Pusan, reaching every refugee settlement. Realizing that only a few could come personally to KCWS headquarters, she established milk stations in every large settlement. The weaving school needed help in pattern work and fast dyes, so she persuaded Mrs. Taylor to send out Miss Violet Stewart who had experience along this line. Miss Stewart gave 18 months service, and thereafter Anne took over, adding the Nylon Stocking Project to the weaving. Widows' Homes sprang up all over the country, associated with KCWS, numbering, at one point, as many as 99. These homes were also used as channels for the distribution of relief grains, used clothing, milk powder, yarn, etc. Miss Davison had the responsibility of securing and distributing sewing machines and of providing training in sewing, weaving and embroidery work.

Anne proved the truth of the old adage that 'the willing horse carries the extra load'. There seemed no end to the extra work she was called on to perform. Her enthusiasm and vitality invited other agencies to seek her help. She was the Canadian representative on the committee that handled the annual grant of \$125,000 from World Vision for 13 orphanages. She was on the Board of Directors of the Grace Home for the Rehabilitation of Prostitutes and did a great deal of case work with them. She used her station wagon to help pick up street urchins and beggar boys. She served on a committee that wrote the first Child Welfare Law in Korea. She served for



several years as Secretary of KAVA (Korean Association of Voluntary Agencies). She assisted in plans for international adoption of Korean orphans, including travel arrangements. In short, Anne Davison was a host in herself. We are grateful for all she did for Korea.

### Rehabilitation of Ewha Woman's University

The story of Ewha Woman's University during these tragic years is an epic in itself. We have already referred to the heroic efforts of Dr. Helen Kim to keep the university going in exile. In 1953 they returned to Seoul to find their furnishings all gone and their buildings in sore need of rehabilitation. Work on the main building was done with funds donated by the U.S. Methodist Mission; that on the dormitory, with funds donated by our Canadian Board. Rev. Elda Daniels had returned and thrown herself heartily into the work of the Department of Christian Social Work. The report of 1953 shows that even in exile some 66 students had shared in a summer work project similar to our Caravan work. They carried their program to 40 different localities in 8 provinces, reaching 10,493 women and girls. 2,943 were taught to read and write, and about 1300 became Christians and were baptized. At a special Christmas service held in the temporary university chapel, 33 college girls and 1 teacher offered themselves for Christian baptism. On return to their campus in Seoul, in the fall of 1953, a Thanksgiving Service was held, at which 210 were baptized on profession of faith. With the signing of the Armistice and the return of comparatively peaceful conditions, Ewha's enrolment has increased by leaps and bounds, until it now approaches the 10,000 mark.

### Additions to the Staff

From 1946 to 1953 the Canadian missionary staff in Korea was limited to two O.M.B. families and five W.M.S. missionary ladies, all of them veterans of many years. In 1953 we welcomed back Miss E.M. Palethorpe to take over the work of Treasurer of the Mission. That same year we welcomed the first of the new additions to our staff in the persons of Dr. E.B. Struthers, Dr. Ian S. Robb, Rev. Wilfred C. Waddell and Rev. Edward D. Baker, Miss Anne M. Davison arrived in 1953, and Miss Violet Stewart in 1954. Also in 1954, arrived Miss Nancy Cameron and Miss Willa A. Kernan. With the arrival in 1955 of Rev. and Mrs. M.M. Irwin, Rev. and Mrs. D. Bruce Suitor, and Miss Ruth Saunders, R.N., a new era in mission history, long wished for by the older missionaries, had dawned, when the work would be in the hands of younger men and women who would grow with the growing Korean church and face the new day with new vision and new enthusiasm.



The Seminary Issue and Mission Re-Alignment

I preface this chapter with the remark that the subject of it is so painful that I would have preferred to forget it and pass on to more pleasant and positive matters. I feel, however, that a record of those years of controversy, as seen through the eyes of a Canadian missionary, should be made and the reasons explained why the Canadian Mission changed its affiliation with the Presbyterian Church in Korea. I have tried to be as fair and factual as possible, especially in view of the fact that our strongest opponent in the controversy is, unfortunately, no longer with us.

It was inevitable that the ferment that accompanied liberation should be felt in every area of Korean life. Theology was no exception, and the encounter of old and new in this area proved more painful and more disruptive than elsewhere. The two factors which contributed to the conflict may be briefly stated as follows:

- 1) The dominant role hitherto exercised by the missionary established Pyengyang Seminary in determining the faith and life of the Korean Church, and the all-out effort of that seminary's supporters, after liberation, to restore it to its former position of prestige and power;
- 2) The existence, in South Korea, of the Chosun Seminary, founded by Koreans, and already recognized by the General Assembly as the official seminary of the Church, but whose theological position, though essentially conservative, was at variance with that of the Pyengyang Seminary.

Pre-Liberation Theological Training

In this chapter we shall follow the course of events as they happened, but meanwhile, it might be helpful to trace the beginnings of theological education in the Korean Church.

Theological training from the outset was of necessity in the hands of the missionary, and was under the control of the Presbyterian (Missionary) Council, through its Committee on Theological Education.

By 1901, the Council had drawn up a course of study for advanced students, and by 1904 Pyengyang, with its large concentration of able missionaries, was recognized as the centre for theological training. Among missionaries from other missions invited to assist were Dr. W.R. Foote and Dr. A.F. Robb of the Canadian Mission.

The year 1907 was of particular importance. In that year the Pyengyang Training School was designated by the Presbyterian Council as the Presbyterian Seminary for all Korea, and graduated its first





class of seven Korean students. That same year, the first Korean Presbytery was organized, and ordained these seven graduates to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. The newly organized Presbytery also tentatively approved the Confession of Faith and the Form of Government as prepared and presented by the Presbyterian Council. They were adopted the following year.

The Confession of Faith was borrowed from the National Presbyterian Church of India and consisted of twelve articles which were generally accepted by Presbyterian churches the world over. The first article which was later destined to become a source of controversy read:

"The scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and duty."

Control of the Seminary remained in the hands of the Presbyterian Council until 1909 when a separate Seminary Board was authorized consisting of eight missionaries nominated by the cooperating missions as follows: Four members from the Northern Presbyterian Mission, two from the Southern Presbyterian, and one each from the Australian and Canadian missions. In 1916 the Korean General Assembly was invited to nominate three members, this number being gradually increased until, in 1934, there were six Koreans on the Board. The first Korean professor, Dr. Namkung, was appointed in 1927, to be followed later by Drs. Lee S.W. and Park Hyung Nong.

### The Theological Climate of the Day

It should be remembered that the modern missionary movement and the founding of indigenous churches coincided with a period of keen theological controversy in the United States. Dr. Charles A. Briggs (1891) and Dr. Harry Preserved Smith (1892) had undergone trial for heresy, and in 1895 the Niagara Bible Conference issued its "Five Essentials of Christian Orthodoxy". In 1910 Dr. R.A. Torrey published ten small booklets entitled "Fundamentals" and the conservative group became known as "Fundamentalists".

The controversy was overshadowed by the first world war but broke out again in 1920, with renewed bitterness when William Jennings Bryan took up the crusade against the theory of evolution. So acute and disruptive did the conflict become that, in 1929, the chief defender of 'orthodoxy', Dr. J. Gresham Machen, was dismissed from his chair at Princeton Seminary, and left to found Westminster Theological Seminary and The Orthodox Presbyterian Church.

These events had a marked influence on the establishment and nurture of the Korean Presbyterian Church. Almost all the missionaries sent to Korea by the American Presbyterian churches were men who strongly supported the ultra-conservative side in the con-



troversy. The first pioneers were men of stature, able and vigorous, whose personalities dominated mission belief and practice. They made it known to their Boards that no 'liberal' minded missionary would be tolerated, and on the whole their Boards acquiesced in their demands. One scholarly missionary who somehow escaped the screening found the going so difficult that he secured a transfer from the Korea mission of his church to the Japanese mission, with the assignment of work among Japanese in Korea. The Korean Presbyterian church, from its beginning, was given a strong fundamentalist bent.

### The Canadian Mission In Pre-Liberation Days

It might be asked how the Canadian Mission fared in those early days. To begin with, it might be said that we had only one missionary, Dr. L. L. Young, who held to the rigid fundamentalist position. I remember vividly my first meeting with him, on the second day of my arrival in Korea. He mentioned that he was teaching the book of Job in the local Bible Institute. I innocently remarked that we had studied Job in my final year at College and I had found it a sublime, imaginative, poetic treatment of the problem of suffering. "Poetic, nothing" was his response, as I stood utterly astonished at the violence of his reprimand. He believed and taught that Job and all the circumstances of that story were historical fact.

Our Canadian theological colleges were more closely associated with British than with American colleges and so missed much of the controversy that shook the latter. All our missionaries had received at least an introduction to the critical study of the Bible. But because of the emphasis, in the Korean Church, on a personal religious experience and a general factual knowledge of Biblical content, we were able to avoid too close involvement in Biblical criticism. Drs. Foote and Robb, our representatives on the Pyongyang Seminary, taught church history, and so could avoid the issue. The younger missionaries faced the issue but concurred in the mission decision that rather than meet it in headlong collision we would institute post-graduate scholarships abroad for able Korean students a practice that was discouraged by most American missions lest the students should be contaminated by heretical teaching received abroad.

There were, however, several minor instances in which Canadian missionaries, or Koreans associated with the Canadian Mission, found themselves in trouble. Rev. Kim Young Ju's questioning of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and Kim Choon Bai's opinion that Paul's dictum about women not speaking in the church was valid for his time but not of universal application brought censure and withdrawal. Rev. Chai P'il Keun, Rev. Song Chang keun, Rev. Kim Kwan Shik and Rev. Wm. Scott were interrogated and reprimanded by their Presbyteries, on the order of the General Assembly, for having participated in the translation into Korean of The Abingdon Commentary.



A more serious issue arose in 1931 when a Northern Presbyterian missionary, Rev. T. S. Soltau, and others, circulated an appeal urging all missionaries to join a proposed new organization to be called "The Evangelical Fellowship of Korea". They enclosed the proposed constitution which contained the Doctrinal Statement. I penned a letter to The Seoul Press opposing the suggestion, one paragraph of which might be worth quoting:

"This movement is surely on dangerous ground when it ventures to tamper with the great historic articles of faith, and deliberately adds clauses and phrases that are not found in the doctrinal statements of the churches working in Korea, or of the Korean churches themselves. To take a few examples: the statements that the scriptures are "inerrant in the original writings", that Jesus died "as our substitute", and that He "will come again in a personal and visible manner", are not found in any of our creeds. The words I have quoted are not statements of evangelical doctrine but particular interpretations of statements which wise men couched in more general terms, trusting to the guidance of the spirit of God for light on their meaning. I most strongly maintain that we are less likely to stray from the evangelical tradition by following the leading of the evangelical churches than if we follow the leadership of an unauthorized organization which would dictate to missions and churches what they should add to their creeds, how they shall be interpreted, and where the emphasis shall be laid."

This letter produced considerable correspondence in The Seoul Press, but the proposed organization never came into existence.

#### Founding Of the Chosun Seminary

We now come to a crucial period in the history of theological education in Korea. On September 30, 1938, the Board of The Pyenyang Seminary closed that school in protest against the Japanese demand that all schools participate in Shrine observances. This was followed, shortly afterwards, by the evacuation of missionaries so that the Korean church was left without a theological seminary, and without mission support.

This led to a movement by Korean church leaders aimed at the founding of a theological seminary sponsored and financed by Korean Christians. The movement began in Seoul, March 27, 1939, with Elder Kim Dai Hyun generously donating the sum of \$150,000 towards the founding of The Chosun Seminary. This movement, in turn, spurred the Pyenyang Presbyterians to sponsor a seminary in that city to take the place of the missionary-supported one now closed. Thus, when the General Assembly met in Pyenyang in September, 1939, two seminaries applied for recognition. The



General Assembly recognized the Pyengyang school as the official seminary of the church, but also approved the Chosun Seminary as a valid school for the training of its ministers. The Pyengyang Seminary began classes in November, 1939, the Chosun Seminary in March, 1940, the later date being due to delay in receiving government permit. From that time on, for several years graduates of both schools were equally recognized, accepted and ordained by all presbyteries.

During the war years educational work was badly disrupted and finally all students were drafted individually for work in factories. This effectively broke up the Pyengyang Seminary. The Chosun Seminary was more fortunate. They were granted permission to work as a collective draft which held the student body together, so that, on the surrender of Japan, they were able immediately to return to Seoul, as a body, to resume class work in the Chosun Seminary.

With the division of the country at the 38th parallel, the Chosun Seminary was the only theological college functioning in South Korea. It had mustered a competent staff, including Dr. Song Chang Keun as President and Rev. Kim Chai Choon as professor of Old Testament. It attracted an enrollment of between two and three hundred students. It was designated by the South Korean General Assembly in June, 1946 as the official seminary for the church, operating under a new board constitution approved by the Assembly. The seminary also received recognition from the U.N. Military Government as a school of college standing, with the right to graduate students with the degree of B.D. In order to accommodate the large number of students applying for entrance, it leased and later obtained possession of, the property of a former Tenrikyo Shinto Sect, which provided ample classroom space, as well as dormitories and residences for students and teachers.

### Return Of Missionaries

Such was the situation when missionaries returned to Korea in the summer and fall of 1946. The Chosun Seminary welcomed their return and immediately requested their co-operation in the administration and staffing of the seminary. The response of the missions was cautious and varied. The Northern Presbyterian Mission replied that they would postpone decision regarding co-operation in theological education, pending clarification of the political situation between north and south. The Southern Presbyterian Mission offered to co-operate if the present staff resigned and a strictly orthodox theology were taught. The Australian Mission had only one man on the field, resident in Pusan, and so were unable to co-operate. The Canadian Mission expressed appreciation of the seminary's request but was able to do no more than give token co-operation in finance and teaching.





### Charges Of Heretical Teaching

Meanwhile refugees from North Korea and Manchuria crowded into Seoul, among whom were many students who had studied in conservative seminaries. In the spring of 1947 some fifty of them brought a charge of heretical teaching against Professor Kim Chai Choon. They prepared a lengthy accusation against him and distributed it to members of the General Assembly, meeting in Taegu, mentioning specifically his denial of the inerrancy of scripture and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Thus began a controversy that lasted for several years and finally resulted in the further division of Presbyterian ranks.

On the request of the Board of the Chosun Seminary the General Assembly appointed a committee to investigate the charges and to report their findings to the Board for final action. A thorough investigation followed during which Professor Kim was able to defend his view and teaching of scripture as in agreement with a proper interpretation of the first article of the creed. The committee was divided in its opinion but was unable to bring in a charge of heresy against Professor Kim. They asked him, however, to make a brief statement in writing to be sent to all the Presbyteries. The statement read as follows:

- "1) I believe in the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and conduct.
- 2) I believe that the Bible is inerrant in the sense that it brings testimony to Jesus Christ our Lord, and teaches us the way of salvation through and in Him.
- 3) I express my regret that some disturbance has been caused in some parts of the church because of my Biblical interpretation."

### Period of Controversy and Political Manoeuvring

The failure to convict Professor Kim of heresy led to a long period of unseemly wrangling and church politicking. The supporters of the Chosun Seminary did their best to defend Professor Kim and to sustain their seminary's position in the church. The conservative wing used all means to discredit Professor Kim in the eyes of the ordinary church member, and to remove the Chosun Seminary from its place as a Presbyterian seminary. It soon became evident that the large group of refugees from the Pyengyang district, together with Presbyterian missionaries, North and South, were determined to establish a seminary that would restore and perpetuate the tradition and influence of the old Pyengyang Seminary. Their opportunity came with the arrival in South Korea, September, 1947, of Dr. Park Iiyung Nong, a former professor in the Pyengyang Seminary.



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He was on his way to Pusan to assume the presidency of the Koryu Seminary, an extreme fundamentalist seminary founded by Korean and missionary disciples of Dr. J. Gresham Machen. Finding these brethren too intolerant and difficult, even for him, Dr. Park resigned his position within the first year. This left him free to accept the invitation of a committee of Korean and missionary promoters to be President of a proposed "Presbyterian Seminary" in Seoul, to rival the Chosun Seminary. This seminary opened in June, 1948.

The General Assembly of April, 1949, extended recognition to this newly established 'Presbyterian Seminary' and also appointed a committee to attempt a union of the two seminaries. The committee drew up seven principles of unification which they presented to the boards of the two seminaries to be accepted unconditionally.

The Chosun Seminary board accepted five of the principles, but made counter proposals on the two main items. (1) The committee required that all members of both faculties resign. The Chosun board proposed that since 'unification' was the object of the committee, the present faculties of both seminaries be united unconditionally. (2) The committee had proposed that, in appointing the new faculty, major subjects be carried by missionary professors, and minor subjects be carried by Korean professors. The Chosun board maintained that appointments to staff should be the prerogative of the board, and be made on the principle of the right man for the right place, whether he be missionary or Korean.

The reply of the Presbyterian Seminary Board was more brief and more blunt, the gist of which was:

- 1) Under no circumstances could Professor Kim Chai Choon be acceptable as a member of faculty.
- 2) nor could anyone be a professor who denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

In such circumstances, it was inevitable that the unification effort should fail. The committee reported their failure to the General Assembly of 1950.

It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that throughout their negotiations, the leading members of the committee had one purpose in mind, not the union of the two seminaries but the elimination of the Chosun Seminary. The suspicion is strengthened by a letter sent to sister Presbyterian missions (excluding the Canadian Mission) by the Field Secretary of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, dated February 21, 1950. The letter, marked 'confidential' begins :



Dear Brethren:

As a member of the General Assembly committee for bringing about peace between the two seminaries, and since the efforts have broken down, I am trying to work out a plan for the committee of a constructive nature, not dependent on getting the two seminaries together but quite independent of it, perhaps the setting up of a General Assembly-established seminary in distinction to an "approved" seminary. My hope is that while it would be established independently by General Assembly it would be of such a nature and quality that the Presbyterian Seminary would have no difficulty in being drawn into it, whatever the other seminary might do."

The reader can draw his own inference.

The 1950 General Assembly made two important decisions regarding theological belief and education. (1) It ordered Presbyteries to discipline all who did not subscribe to the plenary inerrancy of the scriptures, original text. (2) It appointed a committee to discuss and propose a plan for theological education, said plan to be submitted to the Presbyteries, the result to be reported to the 1951 General Assembly. The tragic invasion of the south by the communist north in June, 1950, prevented the committee from meeting in the fall, as planned. It met immediately preceding the 1951 meeting of the General Assembly, and ignoring the decision to remit their proposals to Presbyteries, persuaded the Assembly to take direct action, ordering both seminaries to disband, and establishing a new seminary under control of the General Assembly. The new seminary came into existence in September, 1951, with Dr. A. Campbell of the Northern Presbyterian Mission as President and the staff of the Presbyterian Seminary as faculty. The Chosun Seminary, now called the Hankuk Seminary, continued to function as formerly.

#### The Attitude of the Canadian Mission

We may pause here to enquire about the attitude of the Canadian Mission during these troubled years. We have already noted that the Canadian Mission welcomed the Chosun Seminary's invitation to cooperate. In 1946 Drs. Fraser and Scott each taught part-time. Dr. Scott was appointed a professor in 1947, and Miss Anetta Rose in 1949, both appointments approved by the General Assembly. We found the Christian fellowship of staff and students most congenial, and the evangelical tone and emphasis of the teaching in conformity with that of our home church.

During the period of controversy our sympathies were with the Chosun Seminary, but we took no part in the discussions or consultations. When Assembly meetings became unruly we did our best to moderate and restrain ruffled feelings. Only once did we become



involved. In 1950, when the Assembly moved and seconded, with unseemly haste, that all who denied the verbal inerrancy of the scriptures be disciplined, Dr. Scott, perhaps inadvisably, made a plea for greater tolerance, pointing out that the word 'infallible' in the creed was linked with the words 'faith and conduct'. He then added that all reputable seminaries in the Christian world followed the methods of study now being used by the Hankuk Seminary. This immediately branded him as being 'heretical', and led to his name being included with that of Professor Kim in the 1952 Assembly's condemnation.

The General Assembly of 1952, with a greatly increased majority of conservative delegates, due to the vast incursion of refugees from the north, took the following extreme measures:

- 1) refused to accept graduates of the Hankuk Seminary as candidates for the Presbyterian ministry;
- 2) dismissed Professor Kim Chai Choon from the ministry and ordered his Presbytery (kyungki) to notify him accordingly;
- 3) ordered Dr. William Scott to be investigated by his Presbytery (Ham-Nam);
- 4) Ordered all presbyteries to examine and discipline church members who approved, supported, or spread the views taught by the Hankuk Seminary.

#### Increased Bitterness And Contention

The immediate result of these decisions was wide-spread protest and disruption. The protesting group called a nation-wide Convention in Defence of the Constitution which accused the General Assembly of having violated its own forms of procedure and of acting with arrogance and intolerance. Presbyteries and congregations were divided. Graduates of the Hankuk Seminary who had worked harmoniously with their congregations suddenly found themselves under suspicion or suspension. Contention bred bitterness on both sides, and bitterness often brought intolerance and violence. It was a sad spectacle and a painful experience for all. The only bright feature for those immediately involved was the fact that Kyungki Presbytery refused to expel Professor Kim from the ministry, and the Ham-Nam refugee Presbytery continued to welcome Dr. Scott's cooperation without raising the theological issue.

Finally, as a matter of self defence, and in the hope that it might lessen the wrangling and confusion in the church, on June 10, 1953, the protesting presbyteries and groups formed a new or continuing General Assembly, calling their church The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, and recognizing graduates of the Hankuk Seminary as suitable candidates for the ministry of their church.





The new Assembly (we use the words 'new' and 'old' for the sake of convenience) issued a statement setting forth the reasons for their action and the principles that would motivate their future. The latter included the following: (1) they would oppose any form of Pharisaism; in themselves or others, and stand firm in the freedom of the gospel, safeguarding the freedom of conscience of all believers; (2) while standing for the autonomy and independence of the Korean church they would oppose all narrow isolationism and co-operate faithfully in the ecumenical movement; and (3) they desire to fulfil their mission of bearing practical witness to the whole of Christ as Lord and Saviour of the whole of man's life.

### The Canadian Mission Dilemma

These happenings created a dilemma for the Canadian missionaries. We were still affiliated with the Old Assembly, and repeatedly refused the New Assembly's request that we co-operate with them. Our situation was similar to that of several of the strongest presbyteries in the church. The Kyungki Presbytery, for example, the largest and most influential presbytery in the Korean church, while still loyal to the Old Assembly, was seriously divided in its support of the Old Assembly's actions. When ordered to dismiss Professor Kim Chai Choon from the ministry it appointed a committee to investigate, and accepted the report that exonerated him from the charge of heresy. Many of the pastors in the presbytery were Hankuk Seminary graduates and members of the seminary board. The seminary continued to function under its charter granted by the government and its graduates were still being ordained by such presbyteries as Kyungki who were critical of the Old Assembly's actions. The Canadian missionaries continued to teach in the seminary.

As time passed, however, the ultra conservative party in the Old Assembly took extreme measures that alienated more presbyteries and made free and full co-operation on the part of the Canadian Mission more difficult. Among these measures might be mentioned the following: the scriptural inerrancy test, the hostility towards the Hankuk Seminary, the requirement that all Presbyterian army chaplains, many of whom were graduates from the Hankuk Seminary, sign a pledge of allegiance to the Old Assembly, the refusal to admit the New Assembly to participation in inter-church organizations, and the repudiation of the World Council of Churches.

Meanwhile, their attitude towards us as a Canadian mission became more strained. They were naturally suspicious of us as a 'united' church mission, not purely Presbyterian. They resented our continued co-operation with the Hankuk Seminary. They generally were critical of our beliefs and methods of work as too progressive. This naturally affected our attitude toward them. We found it increasingly difficult to have happy fellowship and close co-operation in the work.



Matters came to a head when the Old Assembly-Mission Joint Board, meeting December 1, 1954, made it plain to our representatives that further co-operation would require unreserved acquiescence of the mission in all Assembly decisions. This led to an emergency meeting of the Canadian Mission at which, after many hours of serious and painful review, the following appeal was forwarded to our home boards:

"Whereas this (situation) confronts the Boards and Mission with the necessity of making an immediate decision which requires mutual consultation on the field, we urgently request the Boards to send, as soon as possible, some person or persons to review the situation here and assist in arriving at a wise decision."

### The Old Assembly's Ultimatum

The Executive of the Board of Overseas Missions concurred with the mission's request, but recognizing the seriousness of the situation reported the matter to the Executive of the General Council and received their approval. While these negotiations were in process the Board of Overseas Missions received a letter from the stated clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, dated February 22, 1955, two paragraphs of which I quote:

" Following the Liberation of August, 1945, our church was in much confusion. One cause for the confusion was that certain young men who had studied in seminaries of other denominations returned to Korea to teach a different view of the Bible from that for which our church has always stood. Consequently, our church has been much confused and perplexed over these matters. When the General Assembly undertook to oppose the spread of these teachings by disciplining the offenders, some of them separated themselves from our church to form what they call "The Presbyterian Church In The Republic of Korea". The two names in Korean differ in only two characters.

At the present time the United Church of Canada Mission while maintaining its friendly association with our General Assembly, is at the same time associating itself with the other newly-formed group. Consequently, our General Assembly has requested the United Church of Canada Mission to break its connection with the other organization by March of 1955 and work only with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church."

The seriousness of the situation, as seen by this communication, led the Executive of General Council to allow its secretary, Ernest E. Long, to accompany Dr. David Gallagher, Secretary of the Board of Overseas Missions, as a deputation to visit Korea. They arrived in Korea, March 24, 1955, and remained there until March



29. The thoroughness of their investigation may be judged by the range of contacts they made. They met with representatives of the two Korean Presbyterian churches, with the co-operating Presbyterian missions and the United Church of Canada mission, with representatives of union Christian organizations, including universities, and with United Nations organizations. From these contacts they learned much about the general conditions in the church and in the country. Their immediate concern, however, was to hear, at first hand, the views of the opposing parties. These views were incorporated in their lengthy report to the Executive of General Council on their return to Canada, the gist of which follows.

The Old Assembly supporters stressed the fact that the Presbyterian Church in Korea, from its beginning, had stood for the inerrancy of the scriptures, and felt they could not tolerate any deviation from that position. This led to the dismissal from the ministry of Professor Kim Chai Choon, and the refusal to accept Hankuk Seminary graduates as candidates for the ministry. They further maintained that Presbyterian polity is based on democratic procedure by which the minority submits to the decisions of the majority. Instead of obeying, however, several presbyteries had seceded to form a new church, and the Hankuk Seminary, though officially ordered to close, had continued to function.

The New Assembly supporters denied the charge of heretical teaching, maintaining that they loyally subscribe to the first article of the church creed, which reads: "The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and conduct." They pointed out that the struggle had been going on for nine years and had been intensified with the return of the missionaries. As time passed the fundamentalist groups in the Korean church had become more intolerant and many pastors who held moderate views had been evicted from their charges. It was only in self defence that they had organized the New Assembly.

They admitted that the Korean church was strongly conservative and needed a conservative seminary to train ministers. But times were changing and an ever increasing number of Korean Christians, especially among the student class, were demanding a more scholarly approach to the scriptures and the Christian faith. All they requested of the Old Assembly was the right to continue as a second seminary to supply the need for better trained pastors. They further maintained that the struggle was not solely a theological conflict, but a struggle on the part of some to restore the prestige and authority in church affairs formerly held by the Pyongyang Seminary. They gave statistics to show that they were a very considerable group of ecumenically minded Christians who sought mission co-operation to enable them better to take their place in



the world church. Figures given at that time were:

|                              |        |
|------------------------------|--------|
| Number of Presbyteries ..... | 11     |
| Congregations .....          | 481    |
| Pastors.....                 | 271    |
| Communicant Members .....    | 19,057 |
| Total Adherents .....        | 74,509 |

Having thus reported to the Executive of General Council the situation in Korea as they found it, the deputation went on to consider ways and means of dealing with it. To begin with, they gave as their considered judgment that "reconciliation could only be brought about now by the complete surrender of the New Assembly or the Old Assembly, and that neither of them would find it possible for them to give way." Prayerful consideration was given to various alternative lines of action, but the following recommendation seemed the "only practicable solution if we desire to continue missionary work in Korea."

"Believing that we cannot desert these needy and sincere Christians, your delegation recommends that our Mission be associated with the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, the new relationship to take effect on July 1, 1955."

This recommendation was adopted by the Executive of the General Council and the following letter ordered sent to the Korea Mission and the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in Korea.

Official Notification of Change of Affiliation of the Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada.

Toronto, May 9, 1955.

Dear Brethren:

A report concerning the situation in the Presbyterian Churches in Korea was presented to the Executive of the General Council of The United Church of Canada on behalf of the Board of Overseas Missions and the Woman's Missionary Society.

After sympathetic consideration, the Executive of the General Council took the following action:

"(1) That the Executive of the General Council of the United Church of Canada expresses its profound regret that the Presbyterian Church of Korea has divided on matters concerning the interpretation of Christian doctrine.





(2) That it recognizes our missionaries, through association with the Presbyterian Church, while not responsible for the divisions of the church, nevertheless are involved in the separation that has taken place, appreciates the report of the delegation and recommends that the United Church of Canada, through its Board of Overseas Missions and the Woman's Missionary Society, continue its long standing work in Korea through association with The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, and co-operative agencies and organizations.

(3) That it send a fraternal message of greeting to the General Assembly of the branch of the Presbyterian Church in Korea with which our missionaries have been associated, assuring them of our prayers and expressing the hope that the unity of the church in Korea may be restored through the spirit of reconciliation."

We, as a deputation to Korea, desire to express our personal appreciation of the co-operation and hospitality offered us by all parties concerned, and trust that the future will bring opportunities for continued fellowship in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Faithfully yours,  
Signed: Ernest E. Long, (D.D.)  
Secretary of General Council  
Signed: David H. Gallagher,  
(D.D.), Secretary of  
Board of Overseas Missions.

### Re-Alignment and Increased Responsibility

The above decision was warmly welcomed by the Hankuk Seminary and the New Assembly. In the case of the Seminary, what had happened was not so much a re-alignment as a decision to co-operate fully in a project to which we had hitherto given only token co-operation. Since the Seminary had been at the centre of the controversy that led to the change it was fitting that its needs should be given priority in the Mission Board's considerations. It so happened that, owing to the Seoul City planning, the Seminary was compelled to sell its property in the city and secure a beautiful site in the hills north of the city. In 1956, the Mission Board, very generously, gave a grant of \$100,000 for the erection of a Seminary Building, including classrooms, chapel and library, which was completed in December, 1957. This brought tremendous inspiration to all Korean friends of the Seminary and led, in the following year, to the building of a Student's Centre including dining room, and a Principal's residence, both of them built by Korean contributions. In 1958, thirty cottages for students' residence were constructed, electricity, water and sewage systems installed, and roads and bridges built, towards part of the expense of which the O.M.B. and the W.M.S. contributed an extra



\$55,000. Completing a project of which the Seminary, the New Assembly and the Canadian Mission may be humbly proud.

With mission co-operation and encouragement the Seminary has been able to attract a staff of qualified and dedicated teachers who have built for it an enviable reputation among theological seminaries in Korea. Despite all accusations to the contrary, its theological position would be termed liberal-conservative. It claims to base its theological outlook on that of Edinburgh in Scotland and Princeton in the U.S.A. Several of its professors have taken post-graduate work in Canadian colleges, and its present able Principal is Dr. Kim Chung Choon, well known in Emmanuel College circles.

The change in relationship with the new Assembly necessitated considerable readjustment of our work and brought greatly increased responsibility. Hitherto, our mission had relations with only two presbyteries, with work confined to Seoul, Pusan and Koje Island. The change brought us into relationship with twelve presbyteries and with churches and leaders in every section of South Korea. Formerly our Korean co-workers were men and women we had known for many years in North Korea, now they were strangers to us and we to them. It took some time to become accustomed to each other and our ways of working. Our co-operation had been eagerly desired by them and was warmly welcomed, but we knew that the status of missionaries and the methods of co-operation would require careful consideration to meet the changed conditions of present day Korea.

Meanwhile, we mutually agreed to continue the method of co-operation through a Joint Board composed of equal numbers of Koreans and missionaries, the Board to have jurisdiction over all mission grants for general work, and to decide on the kinds of work to be done and the grants to be made. We were to discover that their past experience with missionaries had left them more sensitive about presbytery powers and suspicious of mission control. The mission felt obligated to safeguard grants for union institutions and work; Presbytery members were more concerned with the needs of local churches and schools.

It is not difficult to understand their dismay when they learned how much of our mission budget was already earmarked for union work. We were giving grants to such schools of higher learning as Chosun Christian College (now Yonsei University), Ewha Woman's University, Severance Medical College and Hankuk Theological Seminary. We were co-operating in the National Christian Council, the Council of Christian Education, the Christian Literature Society, Korean Church World Service, and the Taechun Christian Service Centre. We were assisting in the support of 32 chaplains in the Korean armed force, and in providing literature for the Korean troops. We were giving grants in aid to 18 high schools, conducting two dormitories in Seoul for men and women college students and making small



money grants to some 350 other college and high school students. One can understand why, at first, their requests to the Boards for funds for Presbyteries and local churches were astronomical. We soon learned that it would take time and patience, on the part of both Korean and missionary members of the Joint Board to adjust to the new co-operative effort.

### Relationship With Local Churches

Fortunately the value of co-operative Christian fellowship and service is not to be gauged by strict doctrinal conformity or financial support, but by the mutual sharing of deep and rich Christian experience. This thought comes to me as I glance over my annual report for the year 1955. I quote from the closing paragraphs.

"I am writing this report immediately on my return from a five day itinerary of 23 rural churches."

"It was evident to our party that the Christian faith goes to the grass roots in the country churches and is a richly vital affair. It is the main interest of these rural folk whose life centres in their church. They are part of the general community, but are indeed a 'peculiar' people, a people apart. They are known as the people with a book in their hands, a song and a prayer on their lips and love of God and man in their hearts. Several times we were specially introduced to some man who enjoys public esteem because of his upright character or his concern for the public good. It brought to mind the word of Christ about 'the salt of the earth'.

"We were greatly impressed by the warmth of our welcome. This was the first missionary visit they had received in several years ... and it persuaded them that they were not abandoned, but that they still belonged to that wider fellowship of Christian friends the world over. And so, like Paul, they "thanked God and took courage!".

And so, from July 1, 1955, the Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada entered a new chapter of her history in affiliation with The Presbyterian Church In The Republic of Korea (PROK). We deeply regret the division that brought about separation from the parent body, but we hope and pray that, as time passes and new generations rise, the old differences will be forgotten and the Presbyterian Church will again be united, and by God's grace, be used of Him to bring about a still larger union of all Christian churches in Korea.



Chapter 23Crusader For Freedom And Truth

In this history we have confined ourselves almost exclusively to the work of Canadian missionaries and given little space to the work of Korean church leaders. We have done this not because of any lack of able church leaders in our section of Korea but because of the conviction that a Korean writer could give a more intimate and more adequate portrayal of their life and work. Later church historians will undoubtedly give due place to such leaders as Chai P'il Keun, Song Chang Keun, Kim Kwan Shik, Cho Hi Ryumn, Lee Soon.Ki, Kim Neung Keun, Kim Choon Bai, Moon Chai Rin, Kang Won Yong, Shin Ai Gyoon, Koh Byung Kan, Chung Dai Wee, and many others who had close connection with the Canadian Mission.

I covet, however, the privilege of devoting one chapter to the life and work of Dr. Kim Chai Choon, the most distinguished and most widely known Christian leader that the Hamkyung provinces have produced. I do this first because of my own personal affection for him, and because of our close association in the difficult controversial days that followed 'liberation'. A further reason is Dr. Kim's personal connection with Canada. Several of his family now live in Toronto and he carries the honorary degree of D. D. from Union Theological College in Vancouver.

His Early Life

Kim Chai Choon was born September 26, 1901 at A-o-ji in Kyungheung county, North Hamkyung province. His father was of peasant stock, well versed in the Chinese classics which he taught in a school (sohdang) held in his own home. Kim's education began when he was 5 years old, and by the age of 9 he had completed the Four Writings (Sasuh), the usual introduction to the classicss required of every would-be scholar.

This enabled him to enter the third year of a regular school in a neighbouring village, and later, in 1913, to graduate from a newly established public school in kogunwon. He then entered the Elementary Agricultural High School in Hoiryung from which he graduated in 1915. He spent three years as a clerk in the Hoiryung county office and later, from 1918-1921, worked in the Finance Co-operative in Eungi. It was in Eungi that he first met Song Chang Keun who later became his closest friend and from whom he learned much about student life in Seoul.

Seoul was not entirely strange to him for an uncle of his lived there, an official in the Korean Government and a member of the reform party, who had assisted in the founding of the O-Sung High School and the publication of two magazines, one of which was





aimed at students. Dr. Kim remembers this magazine as the medium of his first literary effort.

It arose out of his marriage in 1918, arranged, according to Korean custom, by his parents. He soon found himself caught up in youthful discussions on the subject of 'arranged marriages', a topic that greatly agitated youth at the time of the Independence Movement. He was only 19 years old when he wrote an article on 'Youth and Divorce' which was published in his uncle's magazine. He still recalls the gist of his argument. He sympathized with the revolt of youth against 'arranged marriages', but he counselled caution. To overact to the point of seeking divorce would inevitably rouse widespread opposition at a time when the country should be united on more positive issues, the most pressing of which was the need for more and better education.

### To Seoul and The Christian Faith

In line with his magazine article Kim Chai Choon set out to improve his own education. He went to Seoul in the spring of 1921 and took classes in the Choongdong High School and the Central YMCA. He also read widely from books borrowed from libraries. The most significant event of his stay in Seoul, however, was his conversion to Christianity. The Seoul churches were then united in a vigorous evangelistic campaign under the leadership of Rev. Kim Ik Too. The meetings drew large crowds and became the talk of the town. Kim was curious to know why and attended the closing meeting. He was greatly impressed by the preacher's earnestness and his reasoned appeal. His striking reference to the age-old query 'which came first, the egg or the chicken?' particularly intrigued him. "You will never find the answer", said the preacher, "until you go back one step farther, to God, the Creator." Ending with the further word: "You will never make a success of your life until you give God his rightful place in it." Kim was deeply moved and decided there and then to believe and, as he recalls, "a strange warmth of heart and peace of mind possessed me". From that day, he claims, he was a changed person, a new man.

His conversion was a matter between him and God alone. He made no public confession or declaration. He told no one but Song Chang Keun who was then assistant to the minister of the South Gate Presbyterian Church. A further incident was to turn his thoughts towards the Christian ministry. A student friend of his from Kyung-heung came down with typhoid fever and Kim spent much time helping to nurse him. Just before dying the young man kept fretting over the fact that he had done so little for Christ. Kim comforted him by pledging to take his place and devote his life to the Christian cause. He began to think deeply and to read widely about the Christian religion and was greatly influenced by St. Francis of Assisi and Japanese Christian leaders like Kagawa.



Meanwhile the rigours of student life in Seoul were threatening his own health so that his elder brother, probably on the advice of his uncle, came from the north to take him home. The prospect of returning, a Christian, to a strict Confucian home which long ago had haughtily rejected the appeal of a Bible colporteur, was not a pleasant one. "I felt like an exile on the way to Babylon", Kim confided as he recalled the story of the colporteur and his gift book.

It happened when Kim was about 8 years old. A Bible Society colporteur had visited their village and stayed overnight in their home. It was winter time and a charcoal brazier heated the room. The colporteur was an eager evangelist and tried hard to engage the father in conversation about the Christian religion. All to no avail. The Confucian scholar sat unmoved, too polite to turn the colporteur out, too proud to defend his own way of life. Finally the colporteur grew impatient. He held the charcoal tongs in his hand and kept striking the brazier to emphasize his appeal. "Listen", he said, "Even this brazier responds to my striking with a sound, but you sit there mute and dumb. I can't compel you to believe, but I'll leave you this book. Perhaps a son of yours will one day read it and learn how precious it is". And Kim remembered the New Testament that lay at the bottom of the family chest. It, at any rate, would be there to welcome him home.

### Theological Education

He spent two years at home recuperating and building that wiry constitution that stood him in good stead through the lean years of theological training. In 1925 he was urged by Song Chang Keun and Chai P'il Keun to join them in Aoyama Seminary in Tokyo. He taught six months to pay for his travel and arrived in Tokyo in September with five yen left in his pocket. He put himself through Aoyama by working as a coolie on reconstruction work after the Tokyo earthquake, and graduated from that seminary in March, 1928. By this time Song Chang Keun was studying in America and secured a scholarship for Kim at Princeton Seminary. Travel expenses came partly from Yun Chi Ho, whose generosity helped many Korean students and partly through a loan from his father. He travelled steerage on the President McKinley, and learned, as he says, something of the horrors experienced by African slaves on the slave-ships of former days.

After two days detention in San Francisco he proceeded to Princeton, arriving there in November, 1928. He studied there for a short time but later transferred to Western Seminary where Song Chang Keun was a student. He graduated from Western in 1931 with the degree of S.T.B., and received his S.T.M. in 1932.



Return To Korea

He returned to Korea in October, 1932 and spent the winter in his own village. In April, 1933, he joined the staff of the Seungin Commercial School in Pyengyang. The following year he was received as a Licentiate for the ministry by the Pyengyang Presbytery. He resigned from the Seung-in staff in 1938 in protest against shrine observance, and in September of that year became Bible teacher in the Eunjin Academy, Yongjung, under the principalship of Mr. George Bruce of the Canadian Mission.

In 1937 he was ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church by the Tongman Presbytery. He continued a chaplain and Bible teacher at Eunjin until the summer of 1939 when he was invited to Seoul to help promote the founding of a theological seminary. During his years at Eunjin he published a monthly magazine, called 'The Crusader', in which he gave voice to his hopes and fears regarding the Christian church in Korea.

The Founding Of The Chosun Seminary

By 1939 Kim Chai Choon had served his apprenticeship as school chaplain, Bible teacher, and journalist and was now about to enter on what was to prove his most positive contribution to the Christian church in Korea, namely, his part in the founding and perpetuation of the Chosun (later named Hankuk) Theological Seminary. The story of its founding has already been told in detail, but certain aspects of it might be repeated for the sake of clarity.

The closure of the missionary-dominated Seminary in Pyengyang in September, 1938, left the Korean Presbyterian Church without a training school for its ministers. This led a group of men in Seoul, ministerial and lay, to decide that the time had come for the Korean Church to assume greater responsibility for the education of her ministers and to bring that education into line with the best scholarship of the world evangelical tradition. A generous gift from a Seoul elder enabled them to make plans for the opening of a school in the capital. This action stimulated the Pyengyang Christians to arrange for the opening of a seminary in Pyengyang. Both schools applied to the General Assembly for recognition, and both were granted it - the Pyengyang school as the regular Presbyterian seminary, and the Seoul school as an approved theological 'institute' (Shin-hak-won). The two schools functioned on similar terms for the five or six years previous to 'liberation', graduates of each school being accepted equally by presbyteries and ordained to the ministry. Kim Chai Choon was first professor of history in the Chosun 'Institute', and later principal. He successfully resisted Japanese demands that he teach from a 'revised' Old Testa-



ment, claiming that Jesus had already revised it when he said: "You have heard it said by men of old ... but I say to you."

When 'liberation' from Japan came in 1945 the Chosun Seminary Theological Institute was the only Presbyterian training school in South Korea. The name was changed to 'The Chosun Seminary', and the General Assembly in the south recognized it as the official seminary of the church. Since government recognition required that the principal hold a doctorate degree, Kim Chai Choon relinquished his post in favour of his old friend Dr. Song Chang Keun, and continued as professor of Old Testament. The staff was greatly enlarged and guidelines to direct the educational program re-stated as follows: (1) rejection of fundamentalist and isolationist emphasis; (2) encouragement of student initiative and creative scholarship within the reformed evangelical tradition; (3) respect for freedom of conscience in matters of faith, and encouragement of the ecumenical spirit; and (4) the use of generally accepted methods of historical and literary criticism in the study of Scripture.

All this was new in the history of the Korean church and, on the return of the missionaries, led to long and bitter controversy. We have already dealt with it in the preceding chapter and need not repeat it here, except to call attention to two facts. One is the fact that after 'liberation' an extreme fundamentalist group of missionary and Korean followers of Dr. J. Gresham Machen returned to Korea with the hope of winning the entire Korean church to their fundamentalist position. The other fact is that the Pyongyang refugees, supported by the American missionaries, were determined, at all costs, to eliminate the Chosun Seminary and re-establish the Pyongyang Seminary in its former position of prestige and authority in the church, and to perpetuate its particular type of teaching.

It was natural that the opposition should centre on Professor Kim Chai Choon. He had been the guiding hand behind the educational policy of the Chosun Seminary, and his use of historical and literary criticism in his teaching of the Old Testament provided abundant grist for their mill. What they failed to reckon on was the well equipped intellect, the range of theological knowledge, the journalistic experience and the fighting qualities of this unpretentious looking man from North Hamkyung. He resurrected his monthly magazine, 'The Crusader', and carried on a devastating campaign of criticism against all forms of obscurantism, church politicking, and missionary colonialism. He may be accused of sometimes being over-harsh in his attacks, but he saw more clearly than others the issues at stake and the consequences if the reactionary forces should win. He interpreted his call as Jeremiah did: "To root out and to pull down, to build and to plant."





Dr. Kim As Teacher and Lecturer

His pen was sharper than his tongue; his writings more caustic than his spoken word. Throughout the years of controversy he maintained the same soft-spoken, gentle speech of the man from Hamkyung province. Even in conversation or group discussions he spoke so quietly that his listeners had to strain their ears to hear. His lectures demanded close attention. Yet he excelled as a public speaker because of his orderly presentation of facts and his rare gift of summarizing difficult arguments and stating them simply and concisely in understandable Korean.

He remembers his first attempt at public lecturing after 'liberation'. The International Missionary Council had sent 200 volumes of recently published books to Korea, one of which was Toynbee's 'A Study of History'. Professor Kim gave a two hour lecture on it before a large gathering of college students. It was around Christmas time and the hall was unheated, the windows being left open to enable those standing outside to hear. Yet no one left, and no one fidgetted. All listened with rapt attention. The lecture came as a breath of fresh air after the stifling atmosphere of Japanese military control, and as an antidote to the then widely acclaimed materialistic interpretation of history as viewed through communist eyes.

We might gain a better understanding of the man and of his theological position if we review a lecture he gave before a Rally of Presbyterian Youth in November, 1949. The circumstances were as follows: Professor Kim and Dr. Park Hyung Nong, his strongest fundamentalist opponent, were asked to discuss together the topic - "Modern Theological Trends Before and After the War". Both gave their consent, on the basis of which the Presbyterian Youth organized their rally. At the last moment Dr. Park withdrew his consent, and rather than let the young people down, Professor Kim acceded to their request that he give his lecture as arranged and follow it with a question and answer period. A stenographic record of the address was made and an English translation lies before me as I write. I shall give brief summary, together with quotations.

Address to Presbyterian Youth Rally

Professor Kim began by asking his hearers to come as humble seekers after the truth, and stated that "the lecturer also is nothing but a humble student who seeks the truth in the field of present day theology."

He then went on to describe the rise of the modern scientific approach which led to a confrontation between an over-optimistic 'liberalism' and an over-dogmatic 'fundamentalism' - the one claiming that man can arrive at ultimate truth by the exercise of



of reason alone, the other maintaining that ultimate truth resides only in an infallible Bible.

By the 1920s he claimed, these two schools had run their course and "God sent a third school to fill the vacancy". This school is generally referred to as 'The Neo-orthodox School'. It rejects the biblical literalism of the Fundamentalists and the self-sufficient arrogance of the Liberals, and seeks ultimate truth in a dynamic Biblical revelation.

Professor Kim then introduced his audience to the leading theologians of this new movement. Beginning with Kierkegaard with remarkable clarity and conciseness, he indicated the particular emphasis of Barth, Brunner, Niebuhr, Nygren and Aulen - the last two belonging to the 'agape' or love school.

This survey was followed by a critique of the various schools.

(1) "The Fundamentalist have done much to preserve the fundamental truths of Christianity against the arrogance of the Liberals", but have been hung up by their insistence on the inerrancy of scripture.

(2) The Liberals are already confessing their failure in laying too great stress on naturalism and humanism, but we must admire their "faithfulness to the scholar's conscience and their courage in pursuing the truth."

(3) Neo-orthodox theologians have rendered a great service by recalling man to the real meaning of faith as a response of the person 'here' to the person 'yonder', rather than the response of man to a creed or a book.

(4) The 'agape' theology, "like the Johannine writings in the New Testament, is adding the dynamic power of love to Christian faith."

The lecture closed with a reference to the Ecumenical Movement "which aims to save Protestantism from a too hastily developed individualism, and to establish a permanent 'Fellowship of the Saints'".

Professor Kim concluded with an appeal to Korean youth. "Let us who are now an independent people freely and wholeheartedly join ourselves to the mainstream of Christian life in the ecumenical church."

#### The Question Period

The question period related chiefly to biblical criticism and scriptural inerrancy, and since these were the subjects on which Professor Kim was charged of heresy, it might be well to give his



answers in greater detail.

(1) "How can man criticize the Word of God?"

"God gave man a discerning faculty called reason. He does not want us to follow him blindly. Scholars criticize the Bible in order to know exactly what the Bible is and says, not to undermine it. Just as a diamond is enriched by cutting, so that the light breaks forth from its many facets, so God's word is enriched by criticism."

(2) "Can the Word of God contain error?"

"The theory of literal inerrancy is based on verbal inerrancy which insists that every word of the Bible, every thought and record in the Bible is absolutely infallible. But modern scientific investigation has shown that the Bible is not literally infallible in such things as chronology, astrology, etc. In certain historical records, also, there are discrepancies and errors. Even orthodox theologians recognize this."

"However, I believe in the inerrancy of the Bible from another angle. God's intended purpose in the Bible is not to give exact knowledge of history, science, etc., but to reveal his character and purpose of redemption. As recorded in John 5: 39, the purpose of the scriptures is to give us eternal life, and that eternal life is given through faith in Jesus Christ. Therefore, if we find Christ through the Bible, and by faith in him are saved, then the Bible is not wrong. It has fulfilled its purpose. The purpose of a watch is not to show the temperature but to show the exact time, and if it does that the watch is correct and has fulfilled its purpose. In this sense I confess that the Bible is the Word of God and the 'infallible rule of faith and practice' - not infallible in every field of knowledge."

(3) "If you deny inerrancy does not the Bible become an ordinary book?"

"Certainly not. In the Bible and nowhere else God reveals his character and his purpose of redemption through Jesus Christ, and his ways of dealing with man. Some minor imperfections in the literature will never affect this revelation. His manifestation in creation, in nature, in the history of Israel, and finally in the person of Jesus Christ and the coming of the Holy Spirit, will never fail to make sure that the Bible is the Word of God. Most important of all, we meet Christ - the Word Incarnate - in the Bible, and He Himself said "the scriptures testify of me". In this sense the Bible is the word of God and not just an ordinary book. It is God's book, not a book, but the book!"

#### Accused of Heresy

This mild defence of the critical approach to scripture made a strong appeal to Presbyterian youth, but did little to lessen the an-



tagonism of his opponents. From 1950-53 their one object seemed to be the discrediting of Professor Kim and the elimination of the Hankuk Seminary. The course of events is traced in greater detail in Chapter 12. Suffice it to say here that the General Assembly of 1952, without examining him, expelled Professor Kim from the ministry and ordered his Presbytery (Kyungki) to announce this decision. The Presbytery appointed a committee to investigate, and, on the basis of its report, exonerated Professor Kim of the charge of heresy. This led the General Assembly of 1953 to take direct action and publicly declare that Professor Kim was expelled from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. Widespread confusion and disruption followed that eventually led to the organization of The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, which adopted the Hankuk Seminary as its official training school, with Professor Kim continuing his position as a professor there.

One cannot resist the thought that had more conciliatory counsel prevailed the Presbyterian Church in Korea could have recognized both seminaries and preserved its unity. As it was, the controversy helped to bring the Korean church into the mainstream of evangelical thought. The theological climate has changed and a theological reformation is under way. To take one example, of this, one might note that around this time in 1956, a new magazine called 'Christian Thought; appeared which has proven a forum for the expression of Christian thinking on a wide range of subjects of immediate concern, theologically, socially and ethically. One cannot fail to be impressed by the variety of subject dealt with and the scholarship of those who contribute. The Korean church, one feels, is reaching out for greater maturity in Christian thought and Christian concern. And it is no exaggeration to say that Professor Kim has done more than any one other person towards achieving this end.

### Sabbatical Leave

During the years of controversy an effort was made to persuade Professor Kim to take a year's sabbatical leave. Two reasons led him to decide against it. First, there was no dependable financial support for such a step. Second, the fear that his removal from the scene might prejudice the position of the Hankuk Seminary. The opportunity for a sabbatical leave came after the founding of the Presbyterian Church in the R.O.K., and the affiliation of the Canadian Mission with that church. In 1958, Professor Kim spent six months in Toronto, and in October of that year he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Union Theological College, Vancouver, B. C.

In September 1959, he was appointed President of the Hankuk Seminary, and held that position until 1961 when government regulations required all professors to retire at the age of 60. He





continued to teach several hours each week and in 1965 was given the title of President-Emeritus. That same year he was elected Moderator of the R.O.K. Presbyterian Church, and presently holds the position of chairman of that church's Juridical Person, and of their committee on examination of new ordinands. He is also chairman of the Publications Committee of the Christian Literature Society. He is on call for innumerable speeches, lectures and pulpit engagements, so that he is busier, he claims, in retirement than he was before.

### His Literary Work

It is in his literary work, however, that the energy and dedication of the man are best seen. Through a period of more than three decades he has been driven by an urge to write. He himself refers to it as "a sort of Divine compulsion". However one may explain it, the pen is never far from his hand, the ink is seldom dry on the page.

We have already referred to his first article written when he was nineteen years old, and to his publication of the monthly magazine called 'The Crusader', first in Yongjung and later, during the years of controversy, in Seoul, in which he was free to express views that the regular religious press might hesitate to publish. His forthrightness and literary style have won the confidence of the secular press and he has become known as one of the most gifted essayists of present day Korea. His articles are eminently readable and have won widespread acclaim.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Hankuk Seminary, which also coincided with his 70th birthday, the Seminary staff honoured him by collecting and publishing his many miscellaneous writings. The collection comprises five volumes of 500 pages each - a veritable treasure store of information and inspiration for young and old, and particularly helpful for newly graduated theological students facing their first pastorates.

In the forward to these volumes, Dr. Kim Chung Choon, President of the Hankuk Seminary, in typical oriental fashion, pens a tribute to Dr. Kim, the writer. It is worth quoting, even in a rough English translation:

"He is a man whose written word stirs the heart more deeply than the momentary magic of the orator, luring us on to read and read again and to read more and more."

"He is a man whose writings have not only beauty and grace of style but which compel us to stretch our minds and hands towards the deeper things of heaven and earth and man.

"He is a man whose writings not only introduce us to what is new



but also dares to attack what is false in the old, uprooting, destroying, overthrowing what is wrong with the explosive power of the written word.

"He is a man whose eye kept history's plumb-line on the eternal, looking for the dawning of the new day, and whose hand, through 70 years, without ceasing, has been dedicated to writing about it.

"He is a man who stands in neither of the camps, conservative or progressive, but who carefully explores the thoughts of progressive-conservatives and conservative-progressives alike in his search for truth. One who freely crosses all boundaries between faith and conduct, church and society, theology and philosophy, tradition and reform in his search for freedom.

"He is a man whose life and thought are like the firmament - high, wide, clear and vast - so that people call him 'Sage of the firmament' (Chang-kong Sunsaing)."

It is evident that Dr. Kim chose the essay or short article as the chief medium for the expression of his ideas. Some of his colleagues may have wished that he had applied his keen intellect to the production of more lengthy theological writing. Two factors made this difficult. He was a busy man, carrying a heavy teaching schedule in the Seminary as well as pastoral duties in a large congregation in Seoul city. Moreover, the situation in church and nation raised issues that called for immediate protest and clarification of the Christian principles involved. His writings, therefore were largely confined to Biblical studies, homilies on the Christian way of life and statements of Christian principles as related to the issues of the day. Always presented in a lively hard hitting, often provocative, but always stimulating style.

### Original Works

His earliest and most popular book was entitled 'Gleanings' - a collection of short articles on various topics, chiefly relating to religion and life, published in 1942. A second volume of 'More Gleanings', appeared in 1956 and was enthusiastically received. Other books on religion include 'Revelation and Witness', 'The Meeting of Heaven and Earth', and 'On Being a Man'. He also wrote several brief biographies of such well known Christians as Hudson Taylor, Oberlin and Grundtvig. Mention of the last named recalls a remarkable article written by Dr. Kim in August, 1945, immediately following Korea's 'liberation' from Japan. Grundtvig "believed in the indissoluble connection between the Christian life and the national life, and wished the latter to be permeated and transformed by Christian faith and action." Dr. Kim was greatly influenced by Grundtvig and produced what might be called 'A Christian Manifesto' which was published in pamphlet form and achieved wide publicity.



### A Christian Manifesto

He begins by stating that the ultimate source of authority in any state is the Sovereignty of God. All nations exist within the larger Kingdom of God. Each nation has special characteristics and is responsible, under God, for their development, not only for its own good, but for the enrichment of the whole. He then goes on to discuss the various issues that confront a nation beginning a new existence; the form of government; guarantees of the basic freedoms; land reform; preservation and restoration of national monuments and places of scenic beauty; an educational policy fitted to the needs of Korea and extending to adults; utilization of natural resources for the general good; use and control of foreign capital; freedom of religious belief and practice; provision for national defence; improvement of living standards and enhancement of living conditions. The whole range of subjects is treated with remarkable cogency, and in his usual orderly, concise and lucid fashion. The article was a sort of blueprint or manifesto, from the standpoint of the Christian, for the guidance of those who would build a new Korea. Some of the suggestions may be regarded as naively idealistic, but it was good to have them presented to the Korean people, and especially to the Korean Christians, at this decisive period of their nation's history.

### His Work as Translator

Despite his heavy schedule of teaching, preaching and writing, Dr. Kim found time to do his share of translation of religious works from English into Korean. Chief of these was undoubtedly his translation of "Types Of Modern Theology", by Dr. H. R. MacKintosh, of Edinburgh, undertaken at the request of the Bureau of Education of the Korean Government. He also translated "Christ and Culture" by R. Niebuhr, "The Predicament of Modern Man" by Elton Trueblood, "Christianity and Communism", and "The Christian and The State" by John C. Bennett, "Christian Ethics" by Georgia Harkness, and several volumes of Dr. C. Erdman's Commentaries of Books of the Bible.

### Political Involvement

It will be seen from the titles of the books he translated that Dr. Kim was deeply concerned about the application of Christian principles to the affairs of public life. He is a firm believer in democracy as the best form of government yet devised, and was dismayed at the breakdown of the party system in Korea and the formation of an authoritarian regime. He followed with apprehension the erosion of democratic procedure and in 1969, was appointed chairman of a popular movement to oppose the change in the constitution which would permit the President a third term of four years in office. He was also one of three members of the executive



of an organization which opposed the President and his party in the elections of 1971. These two movements failed but Dr. Kim continues his fight for a democratic way of life by publishing a small magazine under the intriguing title of 'The Third Day' - the day of the ultimate triumph of right against wrong. When martial law was proclaimed in 1972 he was one of many placed under house arrest. It speaks well for his standing in the country and for the general respect he has won that he suffered no physical harm and was permitted to leave the country in the spring of 1973 to visit members of his family now living in Toronto.

We wish Dr. Kim well during his stay in Canada and pray that he may be given divine guidance regarding his future. Meanwhile we take this opportunity of stating that we consider it a privilege to know him as a friend. One recalls the words of the writer of Ecclesiasticus:

"A faithful friend is a strong defence; and  
he that hath found such an one hath found  
a treasure."

## Chapter 24

### In Retrospect

When one comes to the end of an historical sketch such as this he is generally expected to indulge in reminiscences and appraisals. I have hesitated to do this because any incident I may recall or evaluation I may make will necessarily be personal and could appear presumptuous. On the other hand, just because of the personal element, they may be more intimate and therefore more interesting to the reader, and, hopefully, not without value. I therefore welcome the opportunity.

#### 1. Reminiscences

##### How I became A Missionary

I will confine my reminiscences to the earlier years of my missionary life. Let me begin by reviewing the circumstances that led my wife and me to offer ourselves for service on the foreign field. As I recall, two things set the idea in motion. One was our deep concern over a boatload of Indian coolies, bound for lumber camps in British Columbia, but refused landing privileges in Vancouver because their ship had not come direct from the port of embarkation. They remained cooped up on board ship for several weeks in uncomfortable and unsanitary conditions. The other incident related to a visit to Vancouver of Dr. Duncan MacLeod, on furlough from Formosa. He had come from Toronto to address the Vancouver Presbytery,





and was given ten minutes on the agenda. These were the days before radio and TV programming set rigid restrictions on time, and the question arose in one young theologian's mind: "What can one say about a mission field in ten minutes?" It led to conversations with Dr. MacLeod and the deepening of interest in foreign mission work.

Added to these two incidents was the presence on Vancouver streets of many Japanese, Chinese and East Indians. Every time I saw them the thought rose in my mind: "These people are God's people as surely as we are. If we really believe that Christ means so much to us they have a right to hear about Him." Thus gradually the thought grew and deepened. I talked it over with my wife who, in the gracious deferential mood of a newly-wed, agreed with her husband's wishes, and we decided to volunteer for work on the foreign field.

Our first choice was India, but since there was no opening there the Foreign Mission Board suggested Korea. Our immediate reaction to that was: "Korea! Where's that? Never heard the name before." We looked up Year Books and pamphlets and soon learned a little about 'The Hermit Country'. But, busy as I was, with regular class work which continued to within a month of our sailing, our knowledge of Korea, her history and her people when we arrived there, was almost nil.

### Korea Bound

The year was 1914. The first world war broke out in August, so all bookings on C.P.R. Empress ships were cancelled to enable them to function as troop-ships. We sailed on the Awa Maru, a Japanese ship, in November, and changed to a coastal steamer at Kobe, the Shingu Maru, which called at Pusan, Wonsan and Hamheung before delivering us at Sungjin, our destination.

The first day we set foot on Korean soil was not a pleasant one. The date was December 3, and the place was the port of Pusan. The crossing from Japan to Korea was particularly rough and we were looking forward to a day on shore while the ship discharged its cargo. The day was cold and my wife was wearing a fur necklet and carrying a muff. We had not gone far when a band of lepers who were roaming the streets came down on us "like wolves on the fold." They looked so pitiable and yet so repulsive, clothed in rags, with evidence of their disease showing on hands, and feet and faces. They soon surrounded us begging for money and jabbering away in a language we didn't understand. They knew no English and we knew no Korean. They were attracted by my wife's furs and the more forward of them began to handle them. Finally, in despair, we fled to the dock and sought shelter on the ship's deck, our dream of a pleasant day ashore rudely shattered. Fortunately the warmth of our welcome at the other ports of call and finally at our point of destination helped to dispel the memory of that first unpleasant introduction to Korea.



Language Study

The first business of the newly arrived missionary, of course, is language study. Unfortunately at the time we arrived, there was no language school, no trained language teachers, and few helpful books on language study. The method followed was this. The older missionaries chose a language teacher for you, introduced you to him and told you to go dig for words, phrases and sentences as best you could. The teacher sat on one side of a table, and you sat on the other side, and you dug. I soon established more principles for my own guidance. "Listen carefully to what he says, and watch his mouth, his lips and his tongue. Imitate everything he says and does. Try out what you have learned on someone else in the house or church or on the street, and don't be afraid to make mistakes. Make your own lists of nouns, verbs, adverbs, etc. and never add a word to your list without placing it in some context of phrase or sentence". Oh, how we longed for a book like "An Intensive Course in Korean", recently produced by a former pupil and old friend of mine, Dr. Park Chang Hai of the Korean Language Institute at Yonsei University, Seoul.

Everyone who learns a foreign language must have met occasions when his mistakes caused a laugh. Here is one out of many I made. We were taking care of Rev. A. R. Ross's dog while he was on furlough. The Korean for dog is 'keh'. One night we had crab for supper, which in Korean is 'kay'. The next morning I finally mastered a difficult verbal construction which signifies interrupted action, and according to my rule I immediately went to the kitchen to try it out on our cook. Unfortunately I transposed the word 'dog' for 'crab' (keh for kay), so that what I said was: "Let's have for lunch what remains of the dog we ate for supper last night." The cook gave me an incredulous look and then exploded in laughter. "Mr. Ross's dog?" she asked mischievously. Language study was always great fun. In later years the one thing I regretted most was my neglect to learn the limited number of Chinese ideographs which are necessary to one who would read the daily press in South Korea.

Missionary Decorum

Our first introduction to the strict etiquette that ruled in missionary circles came with a change in our original appointment. The missionary staff, at that time, on Sungjin station consisted of Rev. A. R. Ross a bachelor, and two unmarried missionary ladies. The fact that their places of residence were several hundred yards apart did not solve the question of etiquette. Of the newly arriving missionaries, Rev. D. W. McDonald, also a bachelor, was first appointed to Sungjin. It soon occurred to some of the older missionaries that this appointment only increased the impropriety of the situation. The only solution possible was the appointment of a missionary family



there. Thus it happened that the Scott family were located in Sungjin to act as chaperones and satisfy the demands of the Victorian etiquette.

Decorum in dress was the order of the day. Missionary ladies preferred clothes of darker colour, lightened perhaps by a white blouse, but with sleeves stretching to the wrists and skirts effectively hiding the ankles. Wide-brimmed hats not only kept the sun at bay, but served to keep the female face in shadow. My wife arrived from Canada in a brown suit with a skirt to her boot tops and slit several inches at the side to facilitate walking. The fact that her ankles would sometimes show was enough to cause some eyebrows to rise.

One of the first mission councils we attended was held on Pongsoodong, in Wonsan, with all the mission present. The mission rented the Olsen house (built by a Dane of that name who was head of the Korean customs) to house some of the missionaries from out of town. It stood near the bathing beach. The afternoon sessions of council were usually followed by a bathing hour, the men keeping discreetly indoors until the ladies had their swim and were safely back in their billet. Some of us, of course, peeked and saw the matronly procession. Each lady was attired in pantaloons style bathing suits, with stockings to cover the legs, and sleeves to hide the arms, most of them in black. Modesty ruled supreme. Even the men's full length bathing suits had aprons for added security. With the opening of the Wonsan Beach Association, in 1915, and the twice daily habit of community bathing in the sea, these and other Victorian inhibitions gradually faded into oblivion. The report of the 1917 Beach Season even goes so far as to state that "the feature of this year's Friday evening entertainment was Mr. Scott's hornpipe dance and highland fling."

### Introduction to the Work

The older missionaries were helpful in introducing us to the life and work of the Korean church. On the principle that mastery of a foreign language called for constant exposure to it, we attended all Korean worship services and did our share of marketing for the home. I confess we did chafe a little at the required attendance at the household family worship every morning in Korean. It was led by one of the senior missionaries and consisted of a hymn, a prayer, a Bible reading, verse about, and an exposition, ending with the Lord's prayer in unison. It usually lasted about forty minutes. After several months of this we begged to leave to go our own way and seek exposure to our teacher's Korean.

Our first actual participation in Korean congregational worship was limited to the announcement of the hymns and the pronouncement



of the benediction. I was fortunate in my first language teacher. He was an educated man who soon learned the business, and was eager to see me make progress. I was also fortunate in having to assume responsibility for the Bible Society colporteurs when Mr. Ross left for furlough in the spring of 1915. This brought wider contacts and more opportunity for conversation. In the fall of that year I accompanied Miss Rogers on an itinerating trip to the interior counties of Samsu and Kapsan, and while there I preached my first sermon in Korean.

### Itinerating Trips

This was the first of many a pleasant itinerating trip which introduced me to the beauty of the Korean landscape, and gave opportunity of meeting affable country folk. Korea's valleys were a constant delight, with row upon row of green carpeted rice fields clinging to the slopes, and gurgling streams to be crossed and recrossed. Her mountain passes were a perpetual challenge to discover what lay beyond, and perhaps catch a glimpse of the distant sea.

Many rich memories gather round these days. Here, for example, is an old Korean gentleman whom I overtook on the road and got to talking to. He wanted to know all about Canada: did it have hills and valleys and rivers and plains, just like Korea? Did the sun shine in the day and the stars come out at night, just like Korea? He pointed with pride to a distant village that was his home. We walked and we talked, and in the process we passed the fork in the road that would lead to his village. When I reminded him of this he replied: "Yes, I know, but it's all right. I'm in no hurry and I just want to come along and hear you talk."

Or take the Korean farmer in Manchuria, in 1919, who, seeing a foreigner pass at the head of the field he was ploughing, left his plow and came running to ask if there was any good news about Korea from the Peace Conference then meeting in Paris. He had guessed I was a missionary and that he had nothing to fear if he talked politics with me. And we talked. Or the young fellow from the mountains behind Hamheung who told me he could never believe in a God that would allow his field to be flooded every year by the swollen river. He may not have been persuaded by my suggestion that God needs helpers to build retaining walls, but he knew that he had my sincere sympathy.

One remembers with a degree of nostalgia the early days of itinerating before enough Korean pastors were produced to take the load off the missionary. We were in demand to make periodic visits to lead Bible classes, hold examinations of new converts, celebrate





the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and to preside at congregational meetings.

Memories of these days are legion. I remember going several miles out of the way to visit a poor Christian family in an isolated valley in Kapsan. They welcomed us with open arms and insisted on our having lunch with them, which consisted of roasted potatoes and salt. After lunch we held family worship and the husband produced a bible and a hymn book for himself and his wife. I remember thinking at the time: "So poor they had nothing to offer but potatoes and salt for lunch, but not too poor to have a Bible and a hymn book for the good of their souls."

My mind goes back to the organization of the W.M.S. in a village near Myungdong in Manchuria. I was accompanied by that well known Korean gentleman and scholar, Elder Kim Yak Nyun, Principal of the Myungdong Academy. Several young women in the congregation were graduates of his academy, and he hoped one of them would be elected president of the W.M.S. The problem was old grandmother Cheigh, who, though illiterate, was the most vigorous force in the church. In order not to offend her Elder Kim explained that the regulations called for elections by the members. He had scarcely finished when the old lady gave him a quizzical look and asked: "Where do you expect to find a better president than I?" Needless to say, Grandmother Cheigh was elected unanimously and served well for the opening year.

Perhaps my most vivid recollection of an itinerating trip is the one on which word came to us of the signing of the armistice in World War I. The Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, but I had left home the previous day and was on my way to attend a Bible Institute in a remote valley in the Hoonchoon district of Manchuria. It took us three days, by horse cart and on foot, to reach the place and the institute was already one week under way before we learned the news. A young man of the village, returning from Seoul, brought word that he had participated in the celebration of the armistice in the capital on November 11. So overwhelming was the news that I felt it called for some expression, on my part, of patriotic response. But how could I do it all alone? I must have someone to share it with me. Mr. Kim Kwan Shik was the only one of the teachers who knew even a little English. I taught him God Save The King, and he taught me the Korean National Anthem, all in secret. Then, one moonlit night we went out to the hills together and held our own thanksgiving service. Mr. Kim prayed in Korean and I prayed in English. We then sang the two national anthems, and embraced each other. It was a simple affair but it did us both good. To me it brought grateful relief that the most sordid and savage war of modern times had ended. To Mr. Kim - and to all Koreans - it brought the hope that Korea's plight might receive consideration at the Peace Conference to follow.



## Preaching and Teaching

The preparation of sermons and lectures in Korean was always a necessary and interesting part of our discipline. Some preferred with the help of their teacher, to write them out fully and read them. I found that method too formal and too inhibiting. I preferred to spend my time and effort in making a clear, concise and easy to remember outline in English and Korean, and then depend on my general knowledge of Korean to expand on the outline. I found that this enabled the congregation or class to carry away something that made sense to them. My outline notes were liberally annotated with Korean words and phrases to be used, as necessary, in my free-wheeling exposition.

## Disturbing Aspects of Missionary Life

Before going on to an appraisal of the work of the mission and the Korean Church, I would like to mention certain aspects of missionary life that have always disturbed me.

Personally, I have never ceased to regret my lack of a background knowledge of Korean history and culture. As already mentioned, my knowledge of the country and her people, on arrival in Korea, was practically nil. I knew that she was a non-Christian country and that our business, as missionaries, was to seek her conversion to the Christian faith. We knew little or nothing of her rich cultural past, or we might have understood that God's contact with Korea did not begin with the arrival of the Christian missionaries. What a boon it would have been to have had access to a book like Bishop Richard Rutt's recent edition of Dr. Gale's history of the Korean People. It should be required reading for all future appointees to Korea.

Our missionary mode of life, moreover, tended to isolate us from close contact with the Korean people. We lived, for the most part, in foreign style homes, wore foreign style clothes, ate foreign food and formed a neighbourhood of our own - a community apart. It is true that in our work, in church, school or hospital, in the city or in the country village, we rubbed shoulders with Koreans of all classes, but in our off-duty hours, in our home and social contacts, we tended to keep to our own missionary group. Even in our recreation, where familiarity is encouraged, we seldom mixed. Few of us, for example, learned to play their form of tennis, with soft ball and lighter racket. Fewer still could play their favourite games of ping-pong or soccer.

Closely associated with the tendency to isolation was the danger of assuming a sense of superiority. As missionaries we carried with us a religious faith that we regarded as absolute, and therefore superior to all other faiths. It was easy to carry over this sense of superiority to the western civilization we inherited. Moreover,



since the Christian religion was new to the converts the missionary naturally became 'teacher' and 'leader'. This could readily pass over into a sort of colonial overlordship, especially if the use of foreign funds was involved. We were always conscious that our Korean friends treated us with greater deference due to the fact that we were missionaries. As a mission we tried to offset this by, early in our history, appointing able Koreans to positions of responsibility, such as school principalships, and by inviting Presbyteries to participate with us on school boards and finance committees. Fortunately, in most missions this phase of direct mission control has long been superceded by 'partnership' under complete Korean church autonomy.

One more aspect of missionary life that disturbed me was our failure to keep abreast of current ecclesiastical and theological thought. The ecumenical movement was in full stride, of which our United Church of Canada was noteworthy. Yet, we, as Canadian missionaries, were often timid and apologetic in our relations with the brethren of the traditional church missions, and in our advocacy of the union movement. Historically, the Korean people have been prone to follow partisan loyalties and this weakness has been carried over into denominational church life, often encouraged by mission policies. "It is a shame", writes Dr. Harold Hong, "that there is not a single 'community church' in all of Korea after 80 years of Protestant missions." The missionary body as a whole cannot absolve itself from censure on this matter.

Still more culpable was our failure to continue our theological studies and keep abreast of the best evangelical scholarship. We may excuse ourselves by pleading that we were too busy, or too isolated, or too circumscribed in our thinking by the strongly fundamentalist position held by the dominant missions and by the Korean church. But I personally feel that it was both unwise and unfair to saddle on the young Korean church the literalist approach to scripture and the severely conservative emphasis in doctrine that denied them access to the best scholarship of the evangelical church.

## II Appraisals

Turning now from personal reminiscences to an attempt at evaluating our mission work in Korea, let me begin by saying that we followed closely the pattern already set by the older missions. Our objective might be described under three heads:

- (1) To win individuals to faith in Jesus Christ as the supreme revelation of the mind and heart of God.
- (2) To bind converts into a church community in order to preserve and enrich their Christian experience through private and corporate prayer, worship and Bible study.
- (3) To witness to our Christian concern for all of life by engaging in educational, medical and other agencies of com-



munity service.

We shared with other missions in the phenomenal success that accompanied the great evangelistic campaigns of the early decades, and in the social and cultural benefits that followed, due partly at least to the widespread extension of the Christian church. These latter included the breakdown of superstitious beliefs; the change in attitude towards polygamy, prostitution, drunkenness and gambling; the new honour, dignity and freedom accorded women, the new respect for and care of children, the widespread use of the native Korean script in Christian worship and in effort to combat illiteracy, and finally, the development of an international concern.

The story of these early days is an epic of missionary endeavour that stands as a tribute to the energy and dedication of many able missionaries and their first converts, and which led many observers to hope that Korea might be the first nation in Asia to become Christian. Other factors, under Divine providence, which contributed to the achievement are well indicated by Dr. Kim Chai Choon, as follows: "(a) the religious mentality which the Korean people had inherited from their past; (b) the fact that the two great traditional religions, Buddhism and Confucianism, had lost much of their vitality and influence; (c) the natural desire of the Korean people, emerging from a long period of isolation, to have some contact with western civilization, which had Christianity at its core, and (d) since the nation had hopelessly failed to maintain political independence, the people's mind naturally became inclined towards the spiritual, other-worldly realm of religion, and found the answer in Christianity." (Korea Struggles For Christ, pp. 27,28.)

#### Message and Method

"They found the answer in Christianity", writes Dr. Kim, and the results that followed the first few decades of missionary effort seem to confirm that statement. The particular brand of Christian experience brought by the missionaries and the method of evangelism employed by them seem to have fitted the needs of the Korea of that day. The message proclaimed by missionary and Korean evangelist alike was simple and direct: "Believe in Jesus; come to church; and go to heaven." They rang the changes on these three ideas: a personal saviour; a sheltering community; and a promise of heavenly bliss.

The method of evangelism was two fold: (1) personal evangelistic effort by all converts, and (2) repeated nation-wide revival campaigns. Every new convert on receiving baptism pledged himself to become an evangelist and win others to Christ. Many were brought into the church by such effort. Revival campaigns, led by able and





eloquent Korean preachers, were particularly effective and frequently resorted to. Mass psychology and emotionalism had free scope and accounted for many converts. Some of them later reverted to their former state of unbelief, but the good and lasting results were nothing short of spectacular.

Together with the evangelical appeal went the widespread distribution and use of the Bible and hymnbook. Study of the Bible was required of all converts and a knowledge of its contents, from Genesis to Revelation, has always been regarded as a special mark of devotion. Dr. Harold Hong is probably right when he states that "no other Christians can surpass the Korean believers in their textual knowledge of the Bible."

The Korean Christian carries his Bible and hymnbook to church with him. Congregations participate with enthusiasm in the singing of hymns and give joyous expression to their faith and hope. Private devotions are encouraged and provide scope for the use of a certain mystical bent in the Korean character. They are often held in the early hours of the morning.

#### Evaluation Of the Korean Church

No one can visit Korea today without being impressed by the abounding vitality of the Christian church in that country. It has brought great comfort and help to her members. It has brought freedom from primitive fear of evil spirits and made prayer and fellowship with God a reality in many lives. It has brought the warm and enriching fellowship of the worshipping community, bringing literacy to the unlettered - a book to read and a song to sing. It has brought no small contribution, as already noted, toward social and moral reform on a national scale, all of which gives credence to the statement by Dr. Hong that "the Protestant churches of Korea are widely known as among the strongest evangelistic churches in the world."

#### Critical Comment

In recent years, however, thoughtful Korean churchmen have recognized certain weaknesses in the church (see "Korea Struggles for Christ") which have been carried over from pioneer missionary days. The Korean church was born and nurtured in an atmosphere of revivalism, and through the years has reverted again and again, for renewal, to the use of revival methods. She bears all the marks of revivalist Christianity - the simple and emotional appeal, the demand for a complete break with the past, the emphasis on personal piety rather than social concern, the tendency to identify saintliness with church attendance, Bible study, prayer and evangelistic fervour. Accompanying all this was an almost worshipful attitude towards the Bible as the inerrant Word of God, unquestioned accep-



tance of a strictly traditional creed; and utter submission to the courts of the church.

Much of this was highly commendable, especially in a newly established church, but as time went on it tended to perpetuate certain undesirable elements. The simple message lacked depth and the worship service lacked dignity. The literal approach to biblical study and the restricted interpretation of creedal statements discouraged scholarship. Emphasis on personal piety often led to Pharisaical pride and unconcern about public issues. The demand for a complete break with the past also meant a break with the community and made meaningful dialogue with non-Christian neighbours difficult. The church tended to become an exclusive society of 'saints' within a larger society of 'sinners', an attitude that was compounded by the belief that the end of the ages was near and that the elect alone would reap the harvest of bliss hereafter.

### Growing Understanding of Christian Theology

The evacuation of missionaries during World War II removed much of the inhibiting control and gave budding Korean theologians, trained abroad, the opportunity to formulate and give expression to their understanding of Christian belief and practice. Since Liberation there has been a steady flow of post-graduate students returning to Korea from seminaries abroad, so that today there's a substantial number of well trained Koreans who have specialized in one or another department of theology and the practice of ministry. Several well authenticated theological seminaries have grown up, staffed by competent Korean professors. There are also several promising religious journals which keep the reading public informed on current theological thought and ecclesiastical movements. Mention might be made also of 'The Christian Academy', a project begun with the help of German Christian friends of Korea. It is headed by Dr. Kang Won Yong, who holds his doctorate from Manitoba College, and aims at providing a forum for the discussion, by Christian and non-Christian Koreans, of current religious, economic, political and cultural matters of concern to the Korean people. All of which shows that there is a growing desire to understand and interpret the Christian religion which will meet the needs of present-day Korea.

### The Burden of Christian Leadership in Rapidly Changing Korea

Korean church leaders need our earnest prayers as they face the new conditions that confront them in present day Korea. The agricultural society of a past generation has yielded to the rapid rise of industry and the trend toward urban congestion. The mildly democratic form of government introduced after Liberation has been replaced by a strict authoritarian regime that allows no dissent. Problems are bound to arise from these changes that will compel



religious leaders to give thoughtful consideration to the role of religion in a nation's life. Opinion will differ on this: some maintaining that the concern of religion is with the soul and spirit of man; others that it has to do with the whole of man - body, soul and spirit.

The immediate response of the churches has been to follow the traditional emphasis on mass evangelism, with its simple appeal for individual acceptance of Christ and dedication to the Christian disciplines of Bible study, prayer and church attendance. The great 'crusade', carried through with the help and support of the Billy Graham organization, has stirred a remarkable revival of religious faith and fervour and led many new converts into the church. The danger is, however, that this religious experience becomes an end in itself and leads to a retreat into an other-worldly religious life.

Along with this emphasis on evangelism must surely go a determined effort on the part of Christian leaders to give greater depth and substance to the Christian message; to understand and commend Christ's view of man's life, here and now, corporate and individual; and to match their Christian thought with courageous witness to the specific Christian insights, judgments and convictions as they apply to every area of Korean life. It will not be an easy task but it is one that the Korean church cannot ignore if it would be true to the prophetic origins of the Christian faith, and relevant to the needs of the Korean people today.

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In bringing to a close this historical sketch of Canadian Mission work in Korea, may I say on behalf of all Canadian missionaries who worked there, how much we appreciate the privilege of learning to know, admire and love the Korean people, and particularly our Korean friends. Considerable time and space has separated some of us from them, but the memory of days spent there is still among our richest treasures. Our hearts are still there and our Korean friends still command a large share of our thought and prayer. We commend them and the Korean people to the protection of Almighty God, the Father, and of Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord. Our faith in Korea remains strong and is expressed in the borrowed words with which this history began, and with which it ends:

"O Korea, who, in Asia's golden age  
Was one of Asia's lighted lamps,  
Let but thy lamp once more be lit  
And you will be a shining light  
To all the East."

